

Tonga OU9

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[For information on norms and ethics as expressed in proverbs and folk wisdom, see 8: Collocott and Havea, Category 539.]

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

59

pair of trowsers and shirt, and he fulfilled his duty with the rest of the sailors: though there was, as Mr. Mariner conceived, a great deal in his manner and watchful eye that looked badly. Just upon the ship's departure, however, he got into a canoe, and told the captain that he had changed his mind and would remain where he was, and went on shore without returning the trowsers and shirt. Mr. Mariner afterwards heard, in China, that he had served the captain of the schooner before mentioned exactly in the same way. The gentleman from whom he had this information in China received it, from the captain himself, who, at the same time, expressed his firm opinion, that this man meant to take an European ship the first opportunity, or at least to be instrumental in doing it, by giving the natives instructions how it was best to be done. We forbear repeating the name of this individual, lest the reports of him should have been greatly exaggerated; there is too much reason to fear, however, that his designs were bad, and this notice may serve as a hint to ships who may hereafter touch there. The character of the Hapai people is not naturally more treacherous than that of the people of Vavaoo; but as they have more petty chiefs whose interest they have to consult, the opportunity for treachery is perhaps more frequent: and if our great

727 circumnavigator^A, whose death the world has so
 721 much reason to deplore, had known them in
 this respect, he would not have misnamed them
 [181] friendly; for, in fact, they had deliberately
 [622] planned a conspiracy against him, and which
 [175] would infallibly have been put in execution, if
 the chiefs who planned it had not disputed about
 the exact mode and time of making the assault.

721 Finow (at that time tributary chief of the Hapai
 175 islands, Toogoo Ahoo being king), was not the
 723 designer of this conspiracy, but he gave counsel
 624 and advice respecting it. The other chiefs pro-
 posed to invite the captain and his officers to a
 grand bo-mée (a night dance by torch-light),
 and at a signal to massacre him, his officers, and
 all the marines; but Finow (the late king's fa-
 ther), objected to this, as the darkness of the
 night would be unfavourable to their operations
 in taking the two vessels, and proposed rather
 that it should be done by day, and that they
 should seize the opportunity of making the at-
 tack on the occasion of a grand entertainment
 which was shortly to be given to him in honour
 of his arrival, and after they were all destroyed,
 the men, who would naturally come in search
 of him, were to be conducted to the further
 part of the island under pretence that he was
 there, and *they* were then to be destroyed in
 like manner: and thus the two ships, their

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

65

and had opportunities of receiving confirma-000
 tions of what he had heard from Cow Mooala
 (see Chap. X.). The natives appeared to be a144
 race considerably inferior to the Tonga people,
 partaking rather of the negro cast of counte-
 nance and form, at least in a small degree. As171
 far as Mr. Mariner had opportunities of observ-
 ing, their domestic comforts appeared much in-
 ferior to those of the people he had just left.
 They do not oil themselves, and to this he attri-171
 butes the coarseness and harshness of skin, 302
 which is so different from that of the Tonga
 people. Their hair was somewhat more curly, 144
 and rather disposed to be woolly. Their 171
 whole external character, taking it generally, [181]
 seemed fierce and warlike, rather than brave
 and noble. Their only dress was the *mahi* (see [291]
 Vol. I. Chap. X.), and this nakedness of appear-
 ance serves at once to sink them in a degree of
 civilization below the natives of Tonga, and the
 Society islands. It is to be lamented that Mr. 114
 Mariner had not opportunities of seeing more
 of the natives of these islands than he did, with
 a view of drawing a juster comparison between
 them and the people whose manners he was so
 well acquainted with; but the apprehension
 that some accident might again detain him just
 on the eve of his return to civilized society, pre-

577 better effect his object: taking the ship he will
 703 call an act of ungenerous oppression: kill-
 ing the men an act of harshness, but he will
 add, how could it be helped? we would have
 saved the men if we could, but we did not dare
 to do it, for our own safety: but (supposing
 the chief addressing himself to Mr. Mariner in
 reference to the Port au Prince), "we might
 "also have killed you and your surviving com-
 "panions, as we were advised, lest the next
 "ship hearing from you what had been done,
 "might take revenge; but we have so good an
 "opinion of the clemency and humanity (*ofa*)
 "of the Papalangies, that we trust they will not
 "take revenge: we will therefore treat you
 [181] "well and abide by the result." Such are their
 notions of the crime (or fault,) as it regards the
 chief; and we think it but fair and liberal to
 judge of a man's conduct according to his own
 notions of right and wrong, taking into account
 his opportunities of knowing better, and in this
 point of view, the natives of these islands are
 but mere infants in civilization and morality,
 (not from want of power, but opportunity of
 growth;) our sentiments towards these people,
 therefore, should be mild and liberal; our con-
 duct generous and careful, or severe and rigor-
 ous, according to circumstances; whilst our
 better notions of morality will teach us not to

OF THE TONGA PEOPLE.

153

be revengeful. In the mean while, we ought
 not to exculpate from all fault the men who
 obeyed their chief on the above occasion: they
 were guilty not because they obeyed, but be-
 cause they obeyed with willingness, in hope of
 obtaining what to them were riches. In respect
 to the intended assassination of Captain Cook,
 every native of Tonga would have considered
 it, if it had taken place, a very base act, for
 which probably the gods would have punished
 them. Toobo Nuha's assassination of Toogoo
 Ahoo was esteemed rather a virtue than a
 crime; but Toobo Toa's assassination of Toobo
 Nuha was held a very atrocious act, offensive to
 the gods. An old mataboole used to say, that
 useless and unprovoked murder was highly of-
 fensive to the gods; and that he never remem-
 bered a man guilty of it but who either lived
 unhappily, or came to an untimely end.

Theft is considered by them an act of mean-
 ness rather than a crime; and although some of
 the chiefs themselves have been known to be
 guilty of it on board ships, it is nevertheless not
 approved of. Their excuse is the strength of
 the temptation: the chiefs that would do it are,
 however, few.

From the above considerations, we are dis-
 posed to say, that the notions of the Tonga
 people, in respect to honour and justice, as we

OF THE TONGA PEOPLE.

157

nature, which is universally prevalent among the men as well as the women, and which is plainly depicted in the countenances of most of them. Taking all things into consideration, we must not venture to call them a humane people; but, on the contrary, to say they were cruel would certainly be making use of too harsh a term. [181]

The next subject we shall consider is chastity. In respect to this, their notions are widely different from those of most European nations; we must, therefore, first examine what are their own ideas respecting this matter, and if they are such as are consistent with public decorum and due order and regularity in the social state, without tending to enervate the mind or debase the character of man, we shall take those ideas as the standard by which to judge them, and as far as they act consistently thereto we shall call them chaste, and as far as they infringe upon it we shall deem them offenders. But here it may be asked how are we to judge whether their own notions upon this subject are consistent with the good order of society, &c. To this we can make no other answer than by referring to the actual state of society there, and pointing out those evils which may be supposed to arise from their wrong notions upon this subject.

In the first place, it is universally considered

OF THE TONGA PEOPLE.

169

least appearance of any *bad* effect. The women 831
 are very tender, kind mothers, and the children 182
 are taken exceeding good care of: for even in
 case of a divorce, the children of any age, (re- 593
 quiring parental care), go with the mother, it 586
 being considered her province to superintend
 their welfare till they grow up; and there is
 never any dispute upon this subject. Both 562
 sexes appear contented and happy in their re-
 lations to each other. As to domestic quarrels, 593
 they are seldom known; but this must be said to [592]
 happen rather from the absolute power which
 every man holds in his own family: for even if
 his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless
 of higher authority in all domestic matters, and
 no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling
 against that authority; and if she should, even
 her own relations would not take her part,
 unless the conduct of her husband were un-
 doubtedly cruel. That the men are also capa- [577]
 ble of much paternal affection, Mr. Mariner
 has witnessed many proofs, some of which have
 been related; and we have already mentioned
 that filial piety is a most important duty, and
 appears to be universally felt.

Upon these grounds we would venture to 181 831
 South Sea islands, we must do the Tonga people the justice 171
 to say, that they have not the most remote idea of any thing 831
 of the kind. 182
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181 say, that the natives of these islands are rather
831 to be considered a chaste than a libertine people,
171 and that, even compared with the most civilized
nations, their character in this respect is to be
rated at no mean height; and if a free inter-
course could exist with European society, it is
a matter of great doubt (whatever might be the
change in their sentiments), if their habits or
dispositions in this respect would be much im-
proved by copying the examples of their in-
structors. If, on the other hand, we compare
them to the natives of the Society islands, and
the Sandwich islands, we should add insult to
injustice.

128 We have thus endeavoured to give a just and
impartial view of these people, as far as regards
their notions and practices of the most import-
ant points of morality, trusting that the ac-
count will be found useful and interesting. A
great deal more might, no doubt, have been
said; but the farther we enter into minutiae
upon such a subject, the more we are likely to
form an erroneous opinion; whilst the general
outlines may be given without so much danger
of being deceived; and what may be thought
imperfect in this sketch, the intelligent reader
will be able to supply according to his own
judgment, by his attentive perusal of other
[266] parts of the work. If, for instance, it be ob-

648 cumstance, yet this one consideration tends
 174 strongly to corroborate the idea. It is highly
 probable that neither of them went out on a
 voyage of discovery, or if such an opinion be
 admitted, there is little doubt but that the peo-
 ple of Tonga first made the attempt, although
 the construction and rigging of their canoes
 [181] were at that time far inferior. The grounds for
 this opinion are, first, their situation to wind-
 ward, and secondly, their superior enterprising
 spirit, in affairs of navigation, which may be
 said to constitute a feature of their national
 [17] character. Their superiority in this respect is
 so great, that no native of Fiji, as far as is known,
 ever ventured to Tonga but in a canoe manned
 with Tonga people, nor ever ventured back to
 his own islands, but under the same guidance
 484 and protection. If we look to the voyage of
 Cow Mooala, related in Chap. 10^A, we cannot
 but entertain a very favourable idea of his ma-
 ritime skill. He sailed from the Fiji islands for
 those of Tonga, but the state of the weather
 prevented him making them; then he steered
 for the Navigator's islands; and the weather
 being still unfavourable, he was drifted to Fo-
 toona, where his canoe was destroyed, and his
 cargo of sandal wood taken from him. Not-
 withstanding these misfortunes, as soon as an-
 other large canoe was built, he again ventured

A. [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 307-336--
 Analyst]

Gifford—Tongan Place Names

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feet elevation), Kao (3380 feet elevation), Late (1700 feet elevation), ¹³³
 Fonualei (600 feet elevation), Niuatoputapu (350 feet elevation), and
 Tafahi (2000 feet elevation).

Two of the coralline islands are quite elevated; Eua attains the height
 of 1070 feet and Vavau the height of 670 feet.

Most of the Tonga islands fall both politically and geographically into ¹³³
 three divisions. From south to north they are the Tongatabu group, the ¹⁰¹
 Haapai group, and the Vavau group. Geographically these groups em-
 brace only the coral islands, but politically Kao and Tofua are parts of
 Haapai, and Late is a part of Vavau, though all three are volcanic and lie
 thirty or forty miles west of Haapai and Vavau proper.

The southernmost portion of the Haapai group is cut off from the main ¹³³
 portion by about ten miles of deep water. It is often dignified geographi-
 cally with the term Nomuka group. It is here treated, however, as a por- ^[128]
 tion of Haapai.

TONGAN GEOGRAPHIC POEMS

Tongan poets are much given to the composition of verses dealing en- ⁵³⁸
 tirely with Tongan geography; in fact, the feeling for the beauties of ¹⁸¹
 nature is one of the marked cultural characteristics of the Tongan people.
 Martin* has published two such compositions; and a number of poems ¹²⁸
 dealing with the islands of the Tongatabu, Haapai, and Vavau groups are
 presented in the following pages of this paper.

"Koe Otu Motu o Haapai" is a fragment of ancient verse evidently ex- ⁵³⁹
 pressing the feeling of monotony which had overcome the poet, after a long
 sojourn on the small and low island of Lifuka in the Haapai group. With ⁵³⁹
 the high volcanic islands of Tofua and Kao in sight to the westward his appe- ¹³³
 tite for wandering got the best of him. He at last obtained surcease for his
 feelings by sailing to Auhangamea, a deep passage between the islands of
 Uoleva and Tatafa. From thence he appears to have gone to rugged
 Tofua, where he scaled the rocky hills and viewed an active volcano and
 the great crater lake, which occupies the center of the island—a change,
 indeed, from the gentle charms of low-lying, coconut-enshrouded Lifuka.

*Martin, John (M.D.), *An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands in the* ^[113]
South Pacific Ocean, with an original grammar and vocabulary of their language.
 Compiled and arranged from the extensive communications of Mr. William Mariner,
 several years resident in those islands, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 293; vol. 2, p. 321, Lon-
 don, John Murray, 1818.

Tales and Poems of Tonga

By E. E. V. COLLOCOTT

PREFACE

The aim of this book is to allow the Tongan to interpret himself through the mouths of his story-tellers and bards. The references given by Gifford (22)¹ will guide the curious to other publications wherein further compositions and traditions may be found. Most of the known myths and traditions of legendary and historically great personages already have been published. This collection consists largely of more homely pieces.

A well-known ethnologist, who has done notable work in widely separated Polynesian islands once remarked that, although it might seem to lay him open to the suspicion of being somewhat lacking in scientific interest, yet his great concern was not for the past but for the future of these peoples. My own labors have been in missionary and educational undertakings, which aim at shaping the present so as to secure a happy and worthy future. Missionary, educational, and governmental work must be guided by sympathetic understanding of the people among whom it is undertaken. It is hoped that this collection will add something to the intimacy of self-revelation of a Polynesian people, and that there may be some gleanings for the ethnologist. If I can do anything to quicken intelligent sympathy of white people for the brown races of the Pacific, and to stimulate the confidence that these peoples are possessed of intellectual and moral qualities that demand respect, and will enable them to make their fit contribution to the progress of the world, I shall have been well rewarded.

The Tongans, alone of Pacific peoples, have maintained an independent native kingship under British protection and with white assistance. It were to be wished that such a system of government were more widely employed in the dealings of great nations with their more backward neighbors, who, indeed, have much to teach as well as to learn from the citizens of more powerful states. In Tonga there has been a very happy adaptation of native custom to the demands of modern constitutional rule, and to the conditions of modern commerce. There is a happy, virile people, healthily proud of nationhood, and kindly disposed towards the foreigner who has not cast down the native chiefs from their ancient rank.

Besides publications to which acknowledgments appear throughout the work, I should mention my use of the dictionaries of Baker (2), Mission-

¹ The numbers in parentheses refer to the Bibliography, page 168. The superior figures refer to notes pages 129-167.

Collocott—Tales and Poems of Tonga

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the one in which I lived. A choir of men entertained the chief at nights, singing, among other things, the compositions dealing with the rhinoceros beetle. My wish to hear these pieces becoming known to him, he courteously sent the choir to sing them to me, and I had the words written down. 538
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[126]

Love poems are called *hiva kakala*, songs of sweet-smelling flowers, of which some modern specimens are given (p. 125). A collection of modern poems, including pieces for dances, might be enlarged indefinitely. What are presented are fairly typical. Direct references to passion are remarkably rare, except in present-day compositions. Instead, the poet speaks of pleasing sights and sounds and fragrances, and the imagination must supply the circumstance that the lover would fain walk with his mistress in these pleasant places, frequent festivals with her, give to her, or receive at her hands, sweet-smelling garlands and flowers. 538

There are other poems in which wooing is represented under the image of hunting the pigeon. Other images, for example fishing, may be so employed. This reserve is characteristic of the Tongans, who are a proud and self-controlled people. [181]

Mariner speaks of the frequency with which Samoan songs are used as accompaniments to dances. Perhaps he overstates this; but Samoan verses, not understood and often corrupted, are frequently sung. There is also a marked tendency to embellish compositions with foreign words and phrases, Samoan, Fijian, and, today, English. Sometimes these loan words are intelligible to the Tongans; but, whether understood or not, they evidently please by their sound. The language of poetry is remarkably terse and pregnant. Almost invariably each line is complete in itself. I have translated line for line. It has been difficult to avoid making the English of these pithy verses bald and harsh. Anyone desiring a good idiomatic knowledge of the language could scarcely do better than study the poetry. The language is terse, forceful, idiomatic, and such as is used in ordinary conversation. It does not always conform to the organizations attempted in printed grammars. The way in which the Tongan speaks is not always quite that in which his European grammarians think he must have intended to speak. 538
192
[195]

MAMAEAE POTO AND FALEPALANGI

Two famous bards lived in the first half of the nineteenth century. Many of their poems are composed in rivalry with one another. Mamaeae-poto belonged to Vavau, though it is clear he came to spend a good deal of time with the chiefs of Tongatabu. Falepalangi belonged to the western (*hihifo*) district of Tongatabu. Both were deformed; Mamaeae-poto had misshapen hands, and Falepalangi had deformed feet. [192]

172 it was brought from Fiji, but neither of these writers, whose works include
 323 a great deal of material borrowed from previous reports, especially Mariner's,
 127 were above expressing an opinion as a fact, even when the opinion was
 114 appropriated from another writer, without personal investigation. Of the
 four writers, Cook was the most careful observer and authentic reporter, but
 his contribution is admittedly an opinion, of which Forster's statement is
 probably a reflection.

172 Burton (1, p. 52) has shown that the Fijians were the best potters in
 323 Oceania and it seems highly probable that Tongan pottery had its original
 171 conception in Fiji (Pl. VI, B), but it seems altogether improbable that the
 Tongans, using pottery rather extensively as it seems, went to Fiji for all
 [18] their pots. The very character of the Tongan, with his alert resourceful-
 ness, striking adaptability, and eager readiness to learn, contradicts such a
 possibility.

[128] Unfortunately, the amount and condition of the material available
 from Tonga is such that a direct comparison with modern Fijian specimens
 is not as profitable as could be wished. However, such a comparison bears
 some fruit.

Fijian pottery consists of red and brown ware, lightly fired (20, pp.
 38-39). In these respects it is identical to Tongan ware. Fijian ware
 includes two distinct types, cooking pots and decorated vessels. The cook-
 ing-pot ware seems identical in material and surface to a large proportion
 172 of the Tongan potsherds. The decorated ware includes many prettily de-
 323 signed drinking cups, vessels with compound bodies, handled ware, and
 171 vessels with eccentric shapes, all more or less embellished with decorative
 531 fillets and nodes in salient relief, and with incised lines and simple patterns
 (8, pp. 194-195). No examples of relief decoration, or of elaborate shapes,
 were found in examining the Tongan ware. Not even the broken fragment
 of a pottery handle was found. Incised lines and simple patterns decorate
 several of the sherds, but the design and technique differ materially from
 those I have seen on Fijian pottery, which is tempered with sand (24, p. 5).

172 The Tongan pieces show no apparent tempering of any kind, but may con-
 323 tain a small amount of fine sand. The finer ware of Fiji is varnished, while
 171 still hot, with an application of the gum of the *dakau* (19, pp. 357-359).
 It is doubtful whether this surfacing would have long survived under con-
 ditions accompanying the accumulation of kitchen refuse. In any case, no
 such surfacing was seen on Tongan ware although some pieces exhibit
 smooth, semi-glossy exteriors. A red surface was applied to some Fijian
 vessels through the use of a vegetable stain (24, p. 5). A similar treat-
 ment may account for the unnaturally bright red surfaces of some Tongan
 sherds.

Collocott and Havea—Tongan Proverbs

49

14. **Taka i fonua mahu:** Going about or living in a fruitful land. 539
181

This indicates the general prosperity and comfort of a people when crops are good and none suffers want.

15. **Tatau pe tua mo palai:** The *tua* just like the *palai*. 539

The *tua* and the *palai* are two sorts of yam, of which the *tua* is much the finer. That which is excellent leaves its proper excellence, becoming the mere equal of things of no account; the chief descending to be no better than the commoner. 244
554

16. **Toukai mo hono lohu:** A crop of fruit and its *lohu*. 539

The crop referred to is the breadfruit. The *lohu* is the forked stick used for picking the breadfruit. When the breadfruit is ripe a man may find that the stick that he has used in a previous season is rotten, and so he has to get another. Probably these sticks are very seldom kept from season to season. The idea is that with the crop one must get a stick for that crop. So of the needs and opportunities of a particular period the men will be found to meet them. 245
[829]

17. **Ufilei fie ufi:** An *ufilei* that wants to be a yam (*ufi*). 539

Ufi is the general name for all kinds of yam. The *ufilei* is a small sweet yam. This indicates one of these small sweet yams that wants to be some other sort of yam. Applied to people who not satisfied with being what they are try to be like someone else. 244
554
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18. **Utu ta lau:** Harvesting, cutting off leaves. 539

This is an expression from the yam harvest and indicates primarily a man who digs his yams before they are quite ready, when the tops will have died off. He strikes or cuts off the tops as he digs his crop. The application of such an expression in Tongan is similar to what it would be in English. 244

PLANTS AND TREES

19. **Akau tuu hala:** Tree standing (in a) road, and so liable to be splashed with mud, struck with knives, or otherwise injured. 539
824

This proverb or this explanation is probably modern, as before the introduction of wheeled traffic and of steel implements it would seem that the road-side tree was not exposed to especial injury. However, even under ancient conditions the road-side tree would offer itself first to those in search of timber. [13]

20. **Faifaimalie naa ke pakii ha lau telie:** Go carefully lest thou pluck (break off) a *telie* (*Terminalia catappa*, or *T. litoralis*) leaf. 539
784
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This phrase is a warning to proceed with care lest a tabu be broken. We do not know its origin.

Collocott and Havea—Tongan Proverbs

87

certainly be smashed but her human occupants have a chance of life. 539
Human life is more valuable than any boat. 503
(181)

252. *Hange ha fana fotu*: Like a mast that shows up. 539

Refers to a tall mast which stands out clearly among other masts and which appears for a long distance at sea. Used of that which is obvious. 501
"Plain as mud in a wine glass." "Plain as the nose on your face." (Compare No. 331.)

253. *Hange ha lingi lolo ki ha tahi peaua*: Like pouring oil on a rough sea. 539
823

The Tongans have long been familiar with the effect of oil on rough water. Sometimes if no oil were at hand but coconuts were available they would chew coconut flesh and spit it out on to the rough sea. The metaphorical application is identical with the English, "Pouring oil on the troubled waters."

254. *Hao he afa kae ngoto he tofu*: Safe from the hurricane but sunk in the calm. 539
829

This picture of a boat surviving great peril but perishing in calm through the folly or carelessness of her crew is applicable in the same way as the like idea is in English.

255. *Kanakana fai ki tahi*: Eating carried out at sea. 539

At sea some people are sick and cannot eat. A greedy man might put off eating till at sea knowing that some of his party who would have enjoyed food ashore will have no inclination for it at sea, and that thus there will be the more left for himself. 264
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256. *Ka ne faifai kau faka-hamahama*: If it had been that I had acted *hama* fashion. 539
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The *hama* was the leeward boat in the double canoe, also the outrigger in the single canoe. In the double canoe the *hama* is smaller than the windward boat and is less used for passengers and cargo. Employed here to indicate a failure to act to the full extent of one's capacity. Used by one who has done his utmost and has accomplished a difficult task. If I had not done my best (I could not have done what I have done).

257. *Kataki e mama moe hopohopokia*: Eating a leak with seas coming on board. 539
505
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Kataki is to eat one thing as relish to another. In this expression the seas coming over the side are the relish to the leak. To be involved in the double danger of a leak and rough sea. Generally of a double misfortune or peril.

- 539 269. *Matangi lelei to ki la mahaehae*: Good wind falling in torn
181 sail.

This indicates good opportunities put into the hands of those incapable of turning them to advantage.

- 539 270. *Ongo fakaevaha*: News like that from the open sea; more
203 literally from "between."

The stretch of sea separating one island from another is commonly spoken as "the between." One might employ the same mode of speech for being out at sea.

News from the open sea is the unreliable reports that travellers bring; yarns concocted while out at sea at a distance from good sources of information. It may be applied generally to stories that are not sufficiently founded on fact.

- 539 271. *Ohooho a liu lahi*: A large hold (of a boat) unfilled.
461

A large vessel of great carrying capacity may be unfilled and yet contain a very large cargo, while a small boat will be filled to overflowing by a much smaller load. Small people, and small receptacles, may appear to be carrying very large loads but in reality their burdens are much less than those easily borne by persons and vessels of greater capacity.

- 539 272. *Pata i la tuu or Pata i la kuo tuu*: Rejoicing in sail that is
502 standing.

Used of a high degree of satisfaction, such as that which the sailor feels when the breeze is fair, the sail well filled, and the boat making good way.

273. *Peau tupu-koso*: Wave rising (at the) *koso*.

[50] The *koso* is an ornamental carving at the bow and at the stern of the canoe. The expression refers to a wave that rises right under the bow or stern of the boat and gives the steersman very little time or opportunity to ride it properly. Hence of danger or calamity which comes suddenly upon one giving him but little time either to avoid it or take measures to meet it.

274. *Pelu la kei mamao*: Reef sail still at a distance, that is, while the storm is still at a distance.

[18] To have everything snug and prepared in ample time to meet a threatened danger.

- 539 275. *Pili e tauhala*: Near the rope, or the rope is near.
501

The *tauhala* is a rope that was trailed astern in rough weather to afford succor to anyone who happened to be washed overboard. This expression is said to indicate primarily one who has been washed overboard and has nearly missed the saving rope; has nearly let it pass him before he

539 559. **Fakatoa tele:** Do-or-die courage, or rather, like a do-or-die hero.

Meaning and application follow closely the English.

539 559a. **Fakate a Halia:** Marshalling of Halia.

726 Used of a numerous crowd of people who, in spite of their numbers,
181 are inefficient and unable to carry out the work for which they were assembled. It is said that the phrase originated with certain fighting at Halia, in the island of Foa, in Haapai. One of the armies engaged was large but was defeated by its less numerous antagonists.

539 560. **Kuo totoa hono nima:** His hand is bloody.

726 The warrior who has slain one man is thereby incited to further war-
181 like deeds. Generally of the encouragement to further effort which is given
701 by initial successes.

539 561. **Longolongo ai valu:** Omen of war.

721 Used with much the same meaning and range of application as the
183 English "Calm before the storm." The last two words of this phrase are
Fijian, and it is possible that the whole phrase may have been brought
from Fiji, and the Fijian *rongorongo* modified in the usual way to *longo-*
longo. *Rongorongo* is the same word, however, as the Tongan *lungolongo*.

539 562. **Malanga fai i he ate:** Speech made in the *ate*.

726 **Malanga fai mei he ate:** Speech made from the *ate*.

571 The *ate* is a shrub. The expression indicates being too late in speaking about a thing, or in preferring a request.

The story is that in the fighting of about a hundred years ago one of the regiments from the east of Tongatabu, the Pelchake regiment, dug a great trench in the western part of the island, with the object, it is said, of cutting off the western district from the remainder of Tongatabu. They worked hard and performed prodigies of labor during the night and at about daybreak bathed and rested. The great Vahai, the most formidable of their opponents, happened to sail along in his canoe near to the spot where they had bathed, and noticed the only appearance of the water, due to the washing of the warriors' heads, and the marks where clay had been turned up (clay being the detergent used by the bathers). Vahai could see by these signs that a great number of people had bathed and guessed at once that so numerous a body of men could be nothing but an army. Landing with his own men to investigate the matter he found the Pelchake people all asleep and slew them. Among the doomed host was one warrior, evidently a fighter of renown, who was standing upright with his eyes open. Vahai thought him awake but in reality he was fast asleep. Vahai pierced him with his spear and the sleeper, suddenly awaked, jumped aside into the bushes (*ate*) and begged for his life, but in vain. He was slain with his companions. Hence this expression indicates an unavailing petition, a request that is made too late

[50] opinion that this was actually the course of evolution. But this evolution took
177 place in Fiji, and not in Tonga.

[181] It is unquestionable that the Fijians were potably the superiors of the Tongans and Samoans in the art of canoe designing, although the Tongans could claim the credit of being the more skilful carpenters and the more daring and experienced navigators.

U ATTACHMENT

[184] Of the three groups of islands in the Tongan Archipelago, in Vavao the U type prevails to the virtual exclusion of the stanchion type, probably because there are no longer any large canoes in use there; in Haapai, it is predominant, whereas in Tongatabu it is found only in the fishing villages on the south and east coasts; on the more populous north coast of Tongatabu the stanchion type alone is in use.

[50] This distribution might lead to the inference that the U type is of older employ-
171 ment in these islands than the stanchion type. Against this conclusion have to be placed two facts. The first is that both in the canoe types surviving in Tonga and in those that have disappeared there is the closest possible affinity with those of Samoa except in regard to the U attachment, which the Samoans have certainly never employed since European contact; neither has there ever been any suggestion that they had it previously. The second fact is that both Tasman and Cook, the one in 1643 and the other in 1773, figured the stanchion attachment as the one in use at the time of their visits. So also did D'Urville and Paris. It seems probable that the Tongans, originally an offshoot from the same stock as the Samoans, had primitively the Samoan stanchion attachment, subsequently modifying this for use only in their smaller canoes into the U type, which may be a localized modification of a pair of stanchions inserted in the float in a Y or V manner, or may be a comparatively recent introduction from some non-Polynesian locality. It is a form of attachment unknown in Polynesia outside of Tonga.

[184] There is evidence that Tongan voyages, usually involuntary, extended to New Caledonia, and it is known, for example, that Wallis Islanders were drifted to the Loyalties about the beginning of the nineteenth century (Lambert, 1900, pp. 54-55). Many of these castaways remained there and formed permanent settlements in Uvea, Lifu, and other islands, but we may be sure that some returned home, and it may be that in this we have the explanation of the occurrence of the U connective in Tonga.

[50] In New Caledonia the shank of the Y connective in use there is sometimes so
177 deeply inserted into the float that it becomes reduced to an approximation to the
178 V type. The Tongan form may have arisen from the substitution of this modified Y form for two stanchion connectives—the ordinary Tongan attachment. The V part of the device, increasing in relative importance at the expense of the shank, might assume eventually its present form, a broad and deep U-shaped section lashed at the base to two diminutive pegs, the homologues of the original stanchions or a duplication of the shank of the Y. The introduction of the U connective may have taken place at a comparatively recent date; there is reason to believe that the southern New Caledonians adopted the *ndrua* form of double canoe from the Tongans, who did not begin to change over to this design until the latter part of the eighteenth century, as is learned from the accounts of Cook and others; the sketches given by Tasman, Cook, and Paris of Tongan canoes, the *tafa'anya* in particular, all show the connectives as paired stanchions and none make any allusion to the U form.

The village overseer, the school-teacher, the pastor, and a man like Biukala who controls three *api*, all find that they are respected for the fact that their additional wealth makes it possible for them to expend more in the giving of feasts. Power, that is, that comes from relatively great wealth is used mainly to increase the size and frequency of one's feasts. To these feasts most of the household heads of the village are invited. Or if they are not invited, then part of the food on display trickles back to their household through gifts to close relatives. Thus, many in the village share in a large feast even though a relatively few only may actually be present at the eating of the food displayed. There are always obligations to be paid off to this household or that. Food given as a gift from one feast may actually change hands several times before it is all finally consumed: each household having a part in this chain of exchange will take part of the food-gift and then pass the rest on to another household to whom it has an outstanding obligation. Probably no single factor will produce greater changes in village life than the accumulation of money for power, rather, than as at present, the use of money to gain prestige through feasts. But this change is not yet significant in village life.

CHANGES IN CRAFT-ACTIVITIES

In considering the various aspects of craft-activities and the place they occupy today in village economic life, one sees evident signs of change which suggest something of a decay in craft-techniques. In fishing-activities for instance, few men bother with net- or line-fishing. Fish of any sort are fairly rare in the daily diet. Not that the villagers have lost a taste for fish. Whenever an occasional successful fisherman blew a whistle in the village to announce that he had fish to sell, those who had money to spare would rush to buy. On these occasions we could give no more acceptable gift to neighbouring friendly families than a block of fresh fish. The fact that fish is a delicacy today goes along with this lack of interest in fishing. This indifference to the sea, noticeably strange in the descendants of a great sea-going people such as the Tongans formerly were, comes out also in other ways. Thus, Pangai is situated on a rise within one hundred yards or so of a beach. Two or three other

PANGAI: A VILLAGE IN TONGA

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swimming-beaches lie within easy walking-distance. Yet young boys rarely learn to swim before the age of six or seven, and girls often much later. Younger children are often severely whipped for venturing to stroll unattended toward the nearest village beach. Yet the beach itself provides safe swimming at all tides. Elsewhere in Polynesia, by contrast, children of three are already fair swimmers and none, parents or children, seem to have that fear of the water which is characteristic of the Pangai villager.

This decay in the art of fishing can be paralleled in other aspects of village economic life. In bark-cloth-making for example, there is apparent a sort of technique atrophy which may be the prelude to slow death. Mariner describes a technique for making bark cloth at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the prepared cloth was baked in an earth oven and then spread out all night to be dampened by the dew before it was sun-dried on the next morning and packed away in bales. None of the villagers had heard of the use of this oven-baking or dew-dampening process even though Mariner says that it increases the durability and strength of the bark cloth. The lack of just these two qualities in their bark cloth worries the Tongans today, when they compare bark cloth with cotton piece-goods. They have evidently forgotten, therefore, two skills that might be used to improve the quality of the bark cloth for which they still have major use.

A somewhat similar atrophy is noticeable in the arts of cooking. Here the introduction of the kerosene-tin or the iron cooking-pot has meant the ever-increasing use of the simple technique of boiling and a progressive lack of interest in oven-baking. By comparison with oven-food, even the villager admits that boiled food is tastelessly sodden and lacks variety of flavour. We read out to Biukala some of the recipes that Mariner gave for preparing Tongan foods. Most of the recipes he had heard of by name, many he could cook himself. But he had to admit that few of the villagers had either the knowledge or the patience to prepare Tongan food according to these older methods. Whatever variety there is introduced into the food eaten today often comes from the addition of large amounts of cane sugar to mixtures of flour and water, or else from the use of tinned beef and

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tinned fish. It is apparently easier for the villager to buy a tin of beef from the store than to fish, even though the beef is the bull's toughest cut. But to buy the beef, you need money, and money you get by cutting copra to sell to the local store. Thus, the villager has tended to concentrate on his plantation and on his copra. From this point of view, the art of fishing is being so rapidly lost that the sea is becoming about as interesting and as important to the villager as it is to the average large city-dweller in our own society.

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The villager does not bewail the loss of his techniques. He would become a mere sentimental antiquarian if he did, especially where new methods and novel appliances are more efficient than the clumsy and inefficient techniques of a past age. Where he might well feel, however, that the balance-sheet shows him in the red is in the arts of fishing and cooking and in the loss of the arts of leisure—the arts of dancing, singing, and playing. Here Christianity has taught him that play is mere idleness, dancing is sinful, and singing respectable, provided only that the music and words are concerned with sacred topics. As a result, the villager plays cricket and football in brief seasonal spurts and nothing at other times. He sings loudly in church, rarely at any other time. He leaves dancing to untutored children who dance in no tradition except that of their own making. All in all, change in these arts of leisure has given the villager time to spare. But for the *kava* circle and its saving sociability, he would tend to kill his time and then wonder why happiness so often eluded his searching.

THE HOUSEHOLD

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The Pangai household consists of that group of individuals living together which uses the same cook-house for the preparation of common meals. Generally this group uses but one sleep-house. A further sleep-house may be necessary however, if the numbers of the household are large. The relationships of the persons making up the individual households (as determined by a census taken of all the households in the village) consist of twenty-six different groupings of kin. Omitting for the moment the biological groupings of parents and children, there are represented ten types of patrilineal relationship of household members to

PANGAI: A VILLAGE IN TONGA

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sleepy during the day. Instead of working in his garden, the addict spends his daylight hours asleep. Poverty and a lack of food are characteristic of his household. Those who are recognized as the hardest workers in the village are conspicuously those who rarely drink *kava* in the evenings or who are content with two or three rounds only of *kava* before going to sleep.

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Domestic trouble arises because the drinker generally deserts his household to drink elsewhere. This is illustrated by the case of the heaviest drinker in the village. He drinks *kava* several times daily. His own house is small and unsuitable for *kava*-parties. It is also very close to the bush that encircles the village and close therefore to the numerous and malevolent evil spirits (*tevolo*) that haunt the bush after nightfall. This makes the house a dangerous place in which to leave a wife and small children without adult male protection. Hence the addict's wife is continually angry because of this desertion. There have been frequent domestic brawls and the wife has occasionally deserted her husband. Moreover, this addict rarely works in his gardens. He leaves gardening to his aged father who is recognized as definitely "queer" by the villagers (the father shuns company, is given to long solitary walks, talks softly to himself: the very antithesis of the sociability-loving Tongan). Much of the money the addict obtains from his school-teaching he spends buying *kava*-root at the store. Thus the household is poor in every respect.

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This addict is an extreme case of *kava*-craving. Village opinion does not of course consider the fact that he may have become an addict because of certain personality difficulties which have of themselves made his domestic life unsatisfactory. This would be a somewhat sophisticated view for the villager to try to comprehend. Hence he simply takes it for granted that excessive *kava*-drinking is the cause of all troubles. His conviction is perhaps rendered more certain by noticing the results when some of the more daring young men have emptied a bottle of whisky into a full *kava* bowl and then swallowed the resulting concoction. (There are very stringent, enforced laws against drinking the white man's liquor or beer—only very occasionally could this happen.)

II.

HOW I TOOK OFFICE.

648 I HEARD the High Commissioner's announcement with rather mixed feelings. To be at the age of twenty-nine elder brother to a monarch of over ninety does not fall to the lot of many, and new adventures are always worth undertaking; but, on the other hand, I had already been to Tonga, and I knew enough of the place and the people to realise that, after the enthusiasm and excitement of Mr Baker's ejection, would come a strong reaction. By this time no doubt every Tongan had made up his mind that the millennium had arrived, in which there would be no more taxes nor Government, and every man would be a law unto himself. Any Government that tried to undeceive them on this point would be unpopular, and any white man who was associated with such a Government would bear the whole brunt of the popular distrust, already aroused by the revelations of Mr Baker's delinquencies imperfectly understood. With a people who would pay 181 no taxes, how were the liabilities to be paid off? Besides, 648 I was to go there without any authority at my back but that which the king might choose to give me, and if I

POLITICS IN CHURCH.

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There were some tame imitations of the three principal performers: then Tukuaho rose, and a hush fell upon the excited crowd. Religion was to give place to politics. He told them that he had come to the church that evening to find comfort for his wounded spirit. He had landed on their shore with joy, thinking that he had come among old friends, but his joy had been turned into sorrow. They were his friends no longer — why? He knew not, unless it was because a distasteful office had been forced upon him. Did they think that he had sought office? No! he was Premier by Tubou's command, not by his own choice. Out of his love for his king he had undertaken work for which he was unfitted, and with God's help he would carry it through. Many foolish things had been said (was not Tonga the land of lying reports?). It had even been asserted that the independence of their country would be lost. Lost? Well, he could tell them that there was one man who would fight if the independence of the country was endangered. That man was himself. But was there a man present who would not fight? (Hitherto



"He tore open his shirt."

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837 loved Lulu. He was her husband, chosen for her by her friends: moreover, he was an angry man.

Lobase's punishment sat lightly on her. In due course bandmaster Lulu returned and compounded the matter with the jailer; but even this did not seem to soften the

heart of his spouse. Less than a week after his return he burst into my office in great excitement to complain that band practice was impossible because his cornet was locked up in his house, and "the woman Lobase" had hidden the key. The conjugal recriminations, when she was called upon for explanations,



Lobase.

were bitter and shrill. Poor Lulu! His band in the act of rehearsing the grand march from Tannhäuser was easier to manage than his fair but fickle wife.

181 There is a lack of thoroughness about the Tongans. They pine to live like Europeans, to own implements and horses and saddlery, yet not one of them can bake a loaf

THE RULES OF THE SERVICE.

149

of bread, nor forge a bolt, nor splice a strap. Their thirst is not for knowledge, but for showy accomplishments: their genius is frothy and ephemeral. This moral untidiness pervades everything. In the king's palace there is a throne-room furnished like an Australian parlour, with Kidderminster carpet, ormolu ornaments under glass shades, and crewel-work mats on the tables,—the whole in unimaginable order,—while in a bare room on the ground-floor the king sleeps on his mat spread on the boards, and eats his yams from a single plate. A Cabinet Minister may be seen sitting on the floor of his well-furnished office eating his mid-day meal from a large dish with his fingers. The Minister of Police bustles about his work, delighted with the new routine he imperfectly understands. "It is excellent," he says with enthusiasm only he cannot say how many officials draw pay in his department, nor can the Premier as Minister of Education. The latter thinks that they are paid in proportion to the number of their pupils, but he does not know for certain. Shrewd old Sateki, the Auditor-General, alone is not enthusiastic. He dares to think that some day his work will be plain to him, but at present his mind is darkened. He is a really dependable subordinate this Sateki, but I can see that he sighs for the day when he received his orders, right or wrong, and had only to carry them out without the responsibility of deciding anything for himself.

He was the only official besides Tukuaho who attended his office every day. The pay of the Civil servants was fixed on the supposition that they should have time for the cultivation of their food-gardens. The clerks had to attend

XI.

VAVAU.

MANY pens have written of Vavau. Missionaries have extolled it for its sensational conversion to Christianity; journalists have described it as a future health-resort; a naval officer has enlarged upon the natural defences of its harbour; Byron, mixing up the two books on the Pacific of his day, Mariner's 'Touga' and the 'Mutiny of the Bounty,' describes it in the "Island" with more rhyme than geographical accuracy; and lastly, Mr St Johnstone, a sentimental young gentleman into whose soul the smell of cocoa-nut-oil had entered, raved of the beauty of its scenery and its women. In short, for its size and its distance from the civilised world, Vavau has had its full share of paper and printing-ink. 181

But it deserves it all. The harbour may be a little less safe, the girls on nearer inspection a little greasier and less virtuous than they are painted, but the scenery, and the indescribable romance that clings about the miniature precipices of the wild Liku, cannot be exaggerated.

The king had come and gone. By his great *fono* he had sown a seed that would certainly have borne fruit if he 643

THE CELTS OF TONGA.

163

ember. The Free Church had taken this opportunity for holding their annual collections in Vavau, and the people, having sold all their available copra to get money for the church, had none left from which we could draw for the benefit of the contractor. With this news came stories of persecution in the Niuas. The Wesleyans were again being persecuted, and it was rumoured that the people had formed a league to pay no taxes. We held a Cabinet meeting, and resolved that the four principal members of the Cabinet, Tukuaho, Fatafehi, Kubu, and myself, should make a tour through the islands as far as Niua. The mail-steamer was to drop us at Niua on her way to the north, and a schooner was to be sent from Vavau to bring us back. But at Vavau the state of affairs was so unsatisfactory that it was decided to leave me behind to settle matters with the copra-contractor.

At the moment of entering the landlocked channel to the harbour one passes into a different atmosphere. The mood of the people of Tongatabu and Haapai matches their flat shores. They cover their restlessness with a crust of reserve even as the honeycomb of water-caves is hidden by plains and palm-groves: but in this land of orange-trees and wild precipices lives a different race. There is an unquiet activity about them, a vivacity of manner, a use of gesture to illustrate speech never seen among their cousins of the southern islands. The air, heavy with the scent of orange-blossom, is yet full of impulse. The men stride down to the wharf to meet the steamer, not ashamed to show that they have curiosity: the girls assemble in groups on the grassy road to chaff new-comers with an easy familiarity more respect-

● 181 able than the mission primness of the Tongatabu maidens, whose discreet deportment invites suspicion.

245 From the wharf one climbs a grassy slope, and straight-way one is in the orange-groves. The whole town is an orange-garden. Beneath the dark shiny foliage lie piles of rotting fruit, half-concealed by the rank couch-grass. Some of the trees are bent with their green load, others are white with blossom, for the crops succeed each other

342 with little intermission. Behind the long rows of trees nestle the brown thatched houses, set down, as it were, upon the grass like the toy cottages of a child.

133 There is no beach here. The shores of the inlet are steep to, and the main road runs along the edge of the cliff.

344 On this road stands the "Palace," a barn-like decaying structure of wood, from which the paint has long ago been

[352] washed by successive rainy seasons. Poor Laifone main-
[513] tained the place with magnificence,—that is to say, there
[264] were marble mantelpieces (never paid for), cut-glass decanters, china, plate, whips, walking-sticks, boot-trees, ornaments, and saddles scattered in heaps over the furniture and floors, very dirty and in indescribable confusion; while the royal master of all this luxury slept on the floor, ate his meals with his fingers, and drank his liquor simply from the black bottle without the intermediary of a cut-glass decanter. But now even those glories have departed, and the house is empty except when the king pays a fly-

366 ing visit to Vavau. Beyond the "Palace" were the stores,
[439] built on the seaward side of the road for greater facility in shipping copra, which comes next to oranges as the chief

563 product of Vavau. These stores, kept by rival traders
441 struggling for the custom of the passing Tongans, breed by

797 related elsewhere, the Conference unwisely resisted the
795 demand for home-rule until it was too late, and Mr
Baker had gone over to the enemy and founded the Free
Church. Then all the dormant fires of sectarian hatred
burst out afresh. The majority of the native ministers,
tempted by the promise of higher salaries, went over in
a body to a Church in which they had greater liberty,
higher pay, and a satisfied feeling of patriotism. They
798 scarcely needed Baker's encouragement to persecute the
795 minority that remained faithful, for they knew that upon
the universality of the new Church depended their ap-
pointments. The old, regarding them as traitors, would
never have taken them back except at a great disadvan-
tage. So they persecuted, and thereby awoke in their
opponents all the obstinacy of the Tongan character.

The old Church flourished under persecution as Churches
always have flourished. Left contemptuously alone, it
might possibly have died a natural death: under the
shadow of a promise of martyrdom, some of the vigour
of its lost youth returned to it. But the life-giving fire
was party spirit, not religious feeling. From the estab-
lishment of the Free Church dates the real overthrow

[181] of devotional earnestness among the Tongans. The
change had been long impending, for the temperament
of the people is incapable of a steady warmth. A fire
of enthusiasm that had blazed so fiercely must needs
soon smoulder away into ashes. Henceforward the
form only survived—the spirit had burnt itself out.

795 With the Free Church a fourth party, who mockingly
771 called themselves the *Lotu jio* or "Looking-on Church,"
came into existence. They were the lukewarm, who

797 conviction. The tenets of the new Church were the
798 same as those of the old, and therefore no conscientious
scruples could have weighed with the inflexible minority.
They were held really by the natural repugnance of
every man of independent character to being bullied into
doing a thing he has at first refused. But the mission-
aries expected that, as soon as the removal of Mr Baker
put an end to persecution, the people would flock back to
their old Church. They were bitterly disappointed when
they found that very few of their old adherents cared to
do so. The truth was that the old Church had become
unfashionable, now that its members could no longer have
771 the distinction of aspiring to martyrdom. Indifference
had permeated the new Church and the old alike.
People still went to church because the king did, and
because it was the sole opportunity for the display of
new clothes; but they dropped religion from their con-
versation, and spoke of their respective Churches only
795 as political organisations. The Wesleyan Conference had
[797] withdrawn Mr Moulton, and substituted for him one of
their ordinary ministers, ignorant of the Tongan language
and character, who found himself confronted with an un-
expected difficulty. The returned exiles from Fiji, of
whom the majority of their leading men were composed,
had been spoilt by the fuss that had been made over
[181] them. Their natural conceit as Tongans had been so
[563] fostered by their admiring friends, that they would no
longer submit to the control of any foreigner were he
563 a hundred times their minister. Perhaps the antagonism
797 to Europeans, which the early missionaries in their war
against the traders had so industriously cultivated, was

KING GEORGE.

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Tungi's wisdom. But the missionaries had no misgivings. They had learned the fickleness of their people by bitter experience, but in the days of their apotheosis they forgot the law of reaction.

The first cloud was no bigger than a man's hand. For some years the contributions exceeded the needs of the Church in Tonga, and the people asked that the surplus might be spent among them, instead of being swallowed up by impecunious missions in other lands. The hesitation of the Wesleyan Conference in Australia in granting this very reasonable request gave birth to a desire for ecclesiastical self-government. The ignorant but self-effacing missionaries of the early days had made way for a very different stamp of man, not less ignorant, perhaps, but far better versed in the affairs of the world. The modern missionary was not called to the post owing to any inward conviction: he took up the work as he would any other profession, and he aimed at the aggrandisement of the Church of which he was a member, rather than the ultimate good of the people committed to his care. He saw that the moving spirit of the Tongan mind was display and emulation, and he skilfully adapted it to the needs of the collection-plate. The chairman was now Mr Baker, a plausible and not over-scrupulous man, half-educated, but possessed of considerable knowledge of the world. Little by little he brought the king to look to him for advice in secular matters. The secret of his influence was the king's fear of losing his independence. Mr Baker worked upon this fear, representing England as only waiting for an opportunity to seize the country as she had done in Fiji. It was only by following his advice

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374 THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL.

178 moral tone allows a girl to prolong her independence to
582 the limit set by time to her attractions, and she finds life
so amusing that she defers marriage until the last possible
844 bridegroom has left her for a younger generation. Even
after marriage she is at a disadvantage as compared with
her grandmother, who could count in childhood upon the
help of her female relatives, according to certain fixed
rules, instead of having, as now, to receive help as a favour
only. These reasons and the increased skill of the women
in forbidden forms of surgery tend to a decrease in the
birth-rate. To those who would know more of this sub-
ject, I commend the Report of the Commission appointed
to inquire into the decrease of the native race in Fiji,
1893. The report, besides being interesting, is of high
anthropological value.

● [187] Though the Tongans are vastly particular about out-
ward modesty, they cannot truthfully be described as an
over-sensitive people. We halted one day for lunch in a
small village at the back of Tongatabu. The house was
filled with the notables of the place, and the children
stared at us six deep through the crevices in the reed
walls. There was a sudden cry of *fuele!* and in a few
seconds we were left alone in the house. The children
dashed off at the first cry, and after a decent interval our
hosts made excuses one after another to leave the house.
From the doorway I saw the whole population of the
village thronging into a hut on the opposite side of the
square. It was a birth.

A Tongan mother is delivered in a reclining posture,
supported in the arms of her husband. There is no
privacy,—the whole village is present. There is always a

376 THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL.

853 milk, and could only give the children taro, yam, or fish as the first food after weaning. The change in this system of family separation is the cause most commonly quoted by the natives for the high mortality among children.

181 I have said that the Tongans are sticklers for propriety in appearances. In some respects, however, they share with the other Polynesian peoples a gross lack of delicacy.

585 Ancient custom still constrains the elderly female relations of the bridegroom to go home with the married pair and stay with them until they are in a position to prove to the other relations that the marriage is satisfactory, and that the dower is therefore due.

186 All the weaknesses of pride of race that we laugh at in ourselves, and feel none the less keenly, may be studied 186 among these other islanders of the antipodes. There is a 167 Tongan colony in Fiji, the children of the army of occupation taken over by Maafu in 1848. The real Tongans 829 patronise their colonials, and speak of them behind their backs as barbarians, ignorant of the usages of polite society. The colonists affect to ridicule the Tongan aristocracy as effete and effeminate, and envy them in secret, bestowing on them the involuntary flattery of imitation. A Tongan colonist who has been to Nukualofa and conversed with the great of the earth returns home to be a nuisance to his fellows, who try to disguise their feeling of inferiority by disparagement of the intercourse which they so much envy. Thus, as between the English and the Australians, a gulf is gradually being fixed between the Tongans of

186 Tonga and Fiji. Not less instructive is the feeling 829 between the Tongans and the Fijians. While affecting 648 to despise the Fijians for their want of refinement, the

THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL 389

is a female bull (*koe bulu fefine*). D'Entrecasteaux, who 231
visited Tonga fourteen years after Cook, found that the 192
existence of the cattle left by that navigator was so far 231
forgotten that the natives did not know which island they 177
were on, if indeed they were alive at all. They were then
spoken of as *puaku tute* (Cook's pigs). Cook himself
records the fact that the new animals excited but little
interest. This indifference still survives in the unwilling- 231
ness of the people to keep cattle, in spite of the excellent
pasture in the island and the large profits to be made from
the sale of milk. Almost every Tongan owns a horse;
scarcely half a dozen keep cows. A cow cannot be ridden, [181]
and it must be watered and milked with absolute regularity
or it will run dry; and of all the products of civilisation,
regular routine is the most hateful to the Polynesian.

I have spoken elsewhere of horses. The ancestors of [177]
the present breed were brought from New Zealand some [232]
forty years ago, but through promiscuous breeding they
have dwindled to the size of the American mustang,—
hard wiry ponies, without either mouth or paces, full of
tricks and ill-temper, but capable of covering immense
distances without fatigue. They vary in price from a [435]
few shillings to £7 or £8. The Government might easily
have improved the breed by making gelding compulsory,
or by enforcing the horse-tax; as it is, the country is
overrun with wretched beasts, covered with sores, whose
only use is to keep the grass short. I remember one [351]
of the police magistrates applying to the Government
for an impounded horse,—“not that I may ride it, but
because I am old, and there is no one to weed my
enclosure.”

[1616]

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL OF SCHOUTEN. 399

breast, and they fled to one of the canoes with sails and tried to persuade them to attack, but they would not, having been well used by us. They were very thievish and exceedingly desirous of iron, trying to draw the bolts out of the ship. They were of fine stature, well-proportioned, naked but for an apron. Their hair was dressed and frizzed, and some had long hair tied up in a knot. They were notable swimmers. Cocos Island lies in lat. 16° 10'.

On the 12th, in the morning, trading was reopened. We bought 1200 nuts that day; also bananas, *obas* [yams], and some water. The ship had eighty-five people all told on board, and every one had a dozen nuts. The king of the other island sent a canoe with a black wild pig as a present to us. In the afternoon the chief himself came with a great sailing canoe, fashioned as has been described heretofore, like an ice-sled, and was accompanied by quite thirty-five small canoes. This chief was called by his people *Latu*.¹ We received him with drums and trumpets, no little to his astonishment, as he had not seen or heard these instruments before. Many of the people who accompanied this chief kissed our feet, bowing and clapping their fists together over their heads, and other strange ceremonies, and showed great wonderment at our ship. The chief seemed to have good authority over his people. The chief himself could not be induced to come on board our ship, but his son did.

13th.—In the morning fully forty-five small canoes and an armada of twenty-three sailing ones came off towards us to trade. The latter had about twenty-five men in each, and the former four and five apiece. They wanted us to sail over to the other island, and we weighed anchor and proceeded—the chief sailing in his canoe abreast of us.

Presently the chief made a signal, and boarded us with great force, breaking the prow of his canoe, and thereat the rest began

¹ *Latu* is still the title of the chief of Niua-tobutabu. Cf. Fijian title *Ratu*.

THE TREATY

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been neglected by the Germans. The second matter was more important, Tonga had made three treaties, ceding her jurisdiction over the subjects of the Powers concerned to their respective consuls, but, inasmuch as England only had a consular court in the group, it followed that Germans and Americans who committed a crime could not be punished for it, while the subjects of other Powers, in theory amenable to the native courts, in practice were free to break the law with impunity. The Samoa Convention gave the jurisdiction over Germans to us, but the experience of Zanzibar has taught us that a Protectorate without jurisdiction over all foreigners is a very unsatisfactory arrangement. The only person who could legally confer the jurisdiction over foreigners upon our courts was the King of Tonga, who nominally possessed it, and this he had to be asked to do. If he had been anxious to part with his responsibilities there would have been little difficulty, but Tongans share with schoolboys a light-hearted contempt for the dangers of responsibility, and are, besides, rather proud of their law courts. We soon found that it was to be a long and tortuous business, calling for all the patience that we had at command.

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THE NAVIGATOR'S PUPIL 189

his instructor even promised to give him lessons⁸⁰⁴ in the science of angles, his delight knew no bounds. For days afterwards the lieutenant and his disciple were familiar spectacles in the chart-room, and the former, who came to be a little bored with his pupil's ardour, admitted that he had shown amazing aptitude, and that he could take rough angles and calculate area with approximate accuracy.

It was not easy to select the site for the⁶⁴⁸ protecting fort owing to the wealth of choice, but eventually we found what we wanted. Fatafehi undertook to "square" the owner, the descendant of a Portuguese deserter from a ship, who had found favour with the Finau Ulukalala of Mariner's time. So far from receiving the⁶⁴⁸ idea of a British fort on Tongan territory with⁷⁰¹ coolness, the Tongans seemed to be pleased⁷¹² with it, especially when I hinted that the garrison might consist of Tongans under the command of a British officer. They are a race of warriors,⁷⁰¹ condemned for the present to live upon the¹⁸¹ traditions of their ancestors' exploits, and soldiering is to them the most noble of occupations; indeed, no commander could ask for more promising material for troops, for alone among South Sea races they had evolved the idea of

701 discipline, and preferred to capture entrenched
● 181 positions by direct assault.

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[133] The remainder of our visit was given to sight-seeing. I was anxious to revisit the Hunga cave, twice-famed by Mariner and Byron. In 1890 a westerly swell had prevented me from diving into it, but this time Finau had promised to provide guides from the best divers in the island, and to put no obstacles in my way if the weather made the adventure possible. But to my disappointment a westerly swell again set in, and the guides backed his declaration by refusing to risk their own skins. I had to admit to myself that it would have been a poor ending to my trip to be sent home in bandages, after defying the advice of the guides, especially as I had been warned by Mr. H. J. Marshall, R.N., who was a midshipman on H.M.S. *Calliope* when Captain Aylen explored the cave in 1852, that the feat was difficult even in calm weather. Captain Sir J. Everard Home being anxious to have the cave explored in order to test William Mariner's story, selected Mr. J. F. R. Aylen, then a Master's Assistant, now a Post-Captain retired, as being the best diver in the ship. He was taken to the indicated position of the cave's mouth in the

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902

OU9 Tonga OU9

A WORD OF WARNING

217

there is no reason that their status should 648
change, though the history of little states is not
reassuring. The scattered group has been under 181 ●
one king as long as tradition runs; its people
have played a notable part in the history of the
Pacific as navigators, conquerors, and colonists;
and I for one should be grieved if the last native
state in the Pacific should pass away.

Tongan landed chiefs are land hungry. The old practice was to claim as much as possible of the neighbouring lord's territory upon his death. Careful surveys now being made by the government are fixing permanently the boundaries of hereditary lands, so that expansion of one's holdings at the expense of some minor heir who is unfamiliar with his inheritance will soon be no longer possible. It is of interest to note that the chief who would be Tui Tonga, if that office had not been abolished, has by legal procedure in recent years secured the return of lands improperly claimed by others.

Euro-American culture has had a hand in transforming the Tongan population from a rural one to a village-dwelling one. The transformation had its beginning at the end of the eighteenth century when civil war forced the people to leave their farms and seek refuge in fortresses. Thus village life seems to have begun. Then came the missionary and a great wave of religious enthusiasm which served to reinforce the new village ties rather than to dissipate them. The copra trade and the scant attention required for the coconut trees doubtless, in a negative way, has helped to perpetuate the village life. The result is that modern Tonga is a country of villages. The farms surround the villages at varying distances and the villager makes periodic excursions to his eight-acres of farm land. All of this has not been beneficial to agriculture. Much land once cultivated intensively has become bush. There are signs, however, of revival. A prominent chief is inducing his people to give up village life and dwell on their farms. Recently introduced agricultural fairs seem also to offer a much-needed stimulus. It seems likely that the next few decades will see a return to the intensive cultivation of heathen days. The series of food plants has been much enlarged by introductions.

Tracts of farm land are sometimes given the names of foreign lands with which the Tongan has become acquainted in school. More frequently, however, tracts within the villages are given such names. The Tongan seems to have a considerable interest in geography and he likes to travel. His geographic poems amply attest this. This love of travel and of topography is still rife. The monthly steamers and the sailing passenger boats carry many Tongans from one part of the archipelago to another or to more distant Samoa and Fiji. Modern vessels continue to cater to the Tongans'

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NATIVE WELLS AND BATHING PLACES. 109

Against this the natives seem to have a strange 312
 aversion, and they have, hitherto, resisted or been
 indifferent to all applications for that purpose. No
 one thing, of its kind, could confer a greater boon
 upon foreign visitors, or could prove a stronger
 inducement for shipping to call, than that of
 securing an abundant and ready supply of good
 water. At present, vessels visiting Vavau have to
 fill their water-casks at Falevai, a place about eight
 miles distant from the ordinary anchorage; where, in
 addition to the trouble and labour of rafting to and
 from such a distance, the water is obtained by the
 slow process of baling from a well. In the imme-
 diate neighbourhood of Talau, where vessels usually
 anchor, there are places in the rocks, which, if
 blasted, would, probably yield an abundant and
 flowing supply. It is, therefore, to be hoped that
 the enlightened policy of King George will lead
 him to overrule the prejudices of his people, and to
 provide Vavau with this essential requisite of
 a good harbour. So long as such a provision is
 neglected, the truly splendid harbour of that island, [504]
 of which we shall have more to say in another
 place, will remain comparatively unknown and
 unvisited.

Perhaps, as the natives themselves use but very [271]
 little water, either for drinking or any other pur- [181]•
 poses, this fact may account in part for their great
 apathy. They are content with having a very few
 wells, dug in convenient localities, which afford a
 sufficient supply, for their household requirements,
 of a very hard and brackish water. It answers for
 but few purposes in European cookery. In the [515]
 vicinity of the sea-shore, these wells, or rather
 water-pits, are dug of much larger dimensions, and

137 probably, they will be found to correspond with those observed by Dr. Seemann in Fiji.* Some of the sorts have their seeds disconnected in the cotton-pod, while others have them compacted together at its core. There is an excellent variety of the genuine Sea-Island plant, or *Gossypium Barbadosense*. Cotton from this, as well as from the other sorts, was submitted, some years since, for examination by competent authorities in England. In their opinion, no staple of finer or better quality could be produced in any part of the world; although the specimens submitted were brought, promiscuously, from trees growing wild in the bush. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt as to the cotton-growing capabilities of these islands. The saline humidity, and equable temperature of the climate, with the proximity of the plant to the sea, in addition to the most extraordinary fertility of the soil, are all advantages of which the cotton-grower is well aware. But there are certain practical difficulties, that will always prevent these islands yielding any very large supply of this article, so essential to the necessities of British life and commerce.

000 First of all, the limited area of the different islands will not admit of the establishment of any very large or numerous plantations; and secondly, there will always be a serious difficulty in obtaining the requisite amount of native labour, to work such plantations as might be cultivated. The people are not really an idle race; but so abundant are the natural resources, from which their wants are supplied, that they feel very independent, in regard to wages obtained in return for time

* Dr. Seemann's "Viti," p. 50.

NATIVE IDEAS OF LABOUR.

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and manual labour. They will, most cheerfully, barter and sell, to foreigners, the produce of their own labour; but they have a great aversion to work for wages or hire. This aversion does not arise, solely, from a fear that the results of their industry might become, at any moment, the property of their superiors. To a great extent all such fears are now needless, the feudal vassalage of the lower orders having been recently abolished by law. But there is, in the mind of the Tonguese, a deep-rooted pride, and a love of freedom from all restraint upon individual time or actions, in consequence of which the very commoners cannot bear to be thought, or to be called, any man's servant. Like the lower orders of true-born Americans, they are willing to be "helpers," on their own conditions, and according to their own fancies, but never servants. Even those who become domesticated in the families of Missionaries, however much they may be remunerated, call themselves "helps;" (*kau tokoni*;) and the service rendered is from love, and not on account of obligation on the ground of payment. The natives always look with suspicion upon any schemes involving the large employment of labour, from an idea that their individual effort, devoted to the production of what is wanted, on their own personal account, will yield a better return than the mere wages they might receive from an employer. They look upon him as one trying to enrich himself at their expense. These contracted views can only become modified, or be destroyed altogether, by a longer, and more perfect acquaintance, with the usages of civilized life, in regard to the honourable nature of voluntary, and properly remunerated, labour. This change will also be accelerated

177 by the pressure of newly felt, and increasing neces-
 181 sities, arising from an extended intercourse with
 461 foreigners. But in the mean time these native
 464 prejudices must stand in the way of any scheme,
 of commercial enterprise, involving the employ-
 ment of many hands.

313 In concluding our brief enumeration of the prin-
 cipal natural products of Tonga, it may be sufficient
 to say, that all the best islands contain trees
 which yield good timber for building purposes;
 but, both in variety and quantity, the supply is
 [185] limited. The natives take no pains whatever to
 increase the stock of timber-yielding trees, in those
 localities that are adapted to their habits. There
 are, it is true, certain stringent regulations respect-
 ing the felling of timber; but there is at the same
 time an unnecessary and reckless waste of what
 313 nature herself affords. The best and largest trees
 824 are used in the construction of canoes. *Bobaos*,
 396 the smallest class of paddling canoes, are always
 cut out of single trees. *Tafaagas*, the beautiful
 and swift canoes that are employed in fishing for
 the bonito and albacore, and also the *hamatefuas*,
 or sailing canoes having only a single hull and
 large outrigger, are all built of planking, in the
 same style as the large *kalias*. These two classes
 of canoes, being required in considerable numbers,
 involve a great waste of valuable wood, inasmuch
 as only two, or, at most, three planks can be ob-
 tained, from a single tree, by the native method
 of cutting.

313 The *tamanu*; (*Calophyllum Burmanni*;) the
 137 *milo*; (*Thespesia populnea*;) the *futu*; (*Barring-
 tonia speciosa*;) the *mohemohe*; the *fetau*; and the
tavahi, are the trees from which good and durable

SKETCH OF TONGUESE RELIGION.

255

and it was also his duty to maintain the god-house, or temple, in due repair and order.

The religion of the Tonguese, as it existed when they became known to the civilized world, incorporated no abstract principles of belief. It was rather a system of despotism, in which deities, ceremonies, and restrictions, had been indefinitely multiplied, till it presented a chaos of dark superstitions, into which the population plunged headlong, through slavish fear and ignorance. The mysteries and enactments of heathen worship,

although submitted to by the chiefs themselves, unquestionably were intended more for the perpetuation of their power and influence, than to direct the ideas of the people to matters of spiritual and eternal interest, or even to those involving temporal improvement. No spirit of benevolence pervaded the system. It abounded in punishments for the present life, and in dark threatenings for the future. *Bulotu*, the Tonguese paradise, was reserved only for the spirits of departed chiefs and persons of rank; who, in their turn, became the servants of the presiding genius of *Bulotu*, and as such were often worshipped and sacrificed to by the people, for the purpose of securing their interposition with the gods. Of the fate of the *tuas*, or common people, there was no certainty whatever; and it was doubtful whether they had any souls at all. A general opinion, however, did prevail, that there was a future state, and with it vague and conflicting notions of rewards and punishments.

Their traditions referred to the creation of the world, and probably also to the deluge; but, even then, according to their ideas, a multiplicity of gods existed. Savage rites, and deities who

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181 delighted in mischief and blood; a cruel and rapacious
 771 priesthood; a despotic and oppressive government; inhuman faiths, and absurd superstitions; under these the people were held in abject bondage. It was, emphatically, "a land of darkness, as darkness itself, and of the shadow of death."

776 The gods of the Tonguese were numerous, and they received constant additions from the most trivial circumstances. Every object of fear, or from which harm could come, was worshipped. Sharks, volcanoes, and any singular appearance in the natural kingdom, had each their devotees. There were family deities, and gods of the wars, seasons, crops, and winds. The four principal gods in their mythology were Tangaloa, Maui, Hikuleo, and Heu-moana-uliuli. It is questionable which of these was accounted the chief deity, or whether, indeed, the Tonguese had any notion of one Supreme Being; and, as the history of these deities has little in it calculated either to interest or instruct, we must refer our readers to other sources for information regarding them.* Suffice it to say, that in Tonguese heathenism, as in other pagan systems, we see how man has deified man: how his fertile imagination has peopled groves, shores, oceans, and skies, with beings of wonderful natures;—beings who, with some, were the objects of fear, and, with others, of companionship and protection. Here, as in all other heathen lands, men, "professing themselves to be wise, became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-

[113] * Appendix to Lawry's "Missionary Visit to the Friendly and Feejee Islands," Mason, London, pp. 248-251. "Tonga and the Friendly Islands," by Miss Farmer, pp. 125-137.

DELIBERATIVE ASSEMBLIES.

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The deliberative assemblies of the chiefs were very stately affairs. Each sat in a circle, arranged according to the rank and precedence of those who composed it, where speeches were made by the authorized orators, and by some of the leading chiefs; after which, the ceremony of kava-drinking would be proceeded with. These meetings would often extend over several hours; and every part of the proceedings was governed and conducted according to well-known and rigid laws of etiquette. From these assemblies the knowledge of new enactments, or the arrangements adopted for any projects entertained by the chiefs, was circulated among the people at large by the *Matabules*.

We now pass on to a brief consideration of the knowledge of the Tonguese, as developed in their arts, manufactures, and customs. In estimating these, however, the fact must not be overlooked, that as their land yielded no metals, and but few minerals, the resources of the islands, for the production of manufactures, were extremely limited. Indeed, it may be asserted that they carried civilization, in this point, to the full extent of their feeble means. The credit must be awarded them, of displaying no small amount of ingenuity and skill in what they produced.

The warlike weapons of the Tonguese were few and simple. They consisted of spears, javelins, and clubs, made from various kinds of hard and heavy wood, capable of taking a high polish. In their hands, these were most effective weapons. They were also very clever in the use of bows and arrows, and slings. Defensive armour was seldom employed; and great ingenuity was displayed in painting and decorating the person, in preparation for an expected contest.

574 extent, and form the chief source from whence
 431 evils arise, among church members, which re-
 578 quire the exercise of discipline by the Mission-
 178 aries.

181 The morals of the Tonguese were never so
 577 thoroughly debased as those of the Sandwich or
 Society Islanders, and other groups that might
 be named; but there was enough, nevertheless, to
 show how low humanity could fall, when without
 the restraints and sanctions of a Divine faith.
 595 Polygamy was common, the number of a man's
 wives depending upon his own inclination, and his
 ability to keep them. Some sentiments relative to
 [837] connubial fidelity prevailed, which may be said to
 [586] have bordered on morality; for, after the parties
 had lived together a while, mutually pleased, it was
 considered disgraceful to separate. There were
 also some, even among the better classes, who were
 content to live with one wife only; and examples
 of domestic happiness were by no means uncom-
 847 mon. Infanticide did not disgrace the history,
 and destroy the vitality of the Tonguese nation.
 855 Children were nurtured with great care and affec-
 888 tion; and aged people were not subjected to the
 neglect and cruelty that was dealt out to such
 persons in Fiji and other Polynesian groups. Yet,
 181 with all this, there was much lasciviousness, and
 831 want of natural affection.

152 There can be no doubt as to the existence of
 266 cannibalism in these islands in former days. It
 never became so prevalent as it once was in New
 Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character,
 as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in
 the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however,
 in times of war; and strange tales are told of one

177 With the progressive infusion of western thoughts, values and attitudes into Tonga beginning about 200 years ago, the prevailing religious, social, cultural and political organization did gradually change, and significantly so. It has been noted that the Polynesians have always been, in general, an open-minded, forward-looking people, eager to adopt new ideas²⁶—and it was this way of thinking (Tongans being no exception to the rule) which encouraged many changes within the Tongan society.

177 One very apparent change came in the realm of religion. With the spread of Christianity and its doctrine of monotheism, Tonga's basis of social control had to be totally revamped, for she found herself devoid of the supernatural sanctions (fear of the gods) and system of taboos which had formerly maintained the balance between good and evil in the polytheistic society of early Tonga.

643 In 1830, the recently-converted chief Taufa'ahau (later to become King George Taufa'ahau Tupou I), a crusader for the cause of Christianity, went about desecrating the gods and gods' houses. John Williams of the London Missionary Society witnessed young Taufa'ahau contemptuously hang some wooden god-images (see accompanying photo) in Ha'apai out

[p. 49-B]

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Tonga of today is in many ways closely aligned with the traditional Tongan society, and she is in many ways different. Certain adaptations have been made over time, but Tongan society is at this time vibrantly alive — a relatively small, yet proud Polynesian kingdom which is grappling boldly with the enigma of an aggressive, infiltrating, rapidly coalescing world.

What does it all mean, in actuality, to possess many of the strengths of the traditional Polynesian culture while being faced, simultaneously, with the challenges which a politically and economically ambitious world poses?

Without a doubt, Tonga has to date remained

[p.53-B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C;Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

● 181 herself. With faith in her identity, she has
178 consistently remained determined to maintain the
freedom to run her own affairs. She has, in effect,
held the reins for designing and controlling her own
future.

Yet, today's world presents threats which differ
greatly from the threats which have prevailed
throughout history — threats which Tonga has
successfully withstood. A country's integrity is her
stronghold, and it is Tonga's integrity which is being
challenged by the diverse forces of a world where
material progress, technological know-how, wealth
and power hold prominence over human values.

The mushrooming in Tonga of phenomena such

[p. 53-C]

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 548]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OÜ9 Tonga OÜ9

181 as tourism, foreign economic interest, prices of
178 consumer goods, pressures to work and study
457 abroad, and the rural-urban drift which is creating
435 grave unemployment and population problems on
369 Tongatapu, intensifies the dilemma of *how to*
464 *improve the quality of life while preventing cultural*
and social deterioration.

433 Although Tonga's economy is based primarily on
241 agriculture (main exports: copra, bananas,
433 desiccated coconuts), Tonga is slowly moving away
457 from being a society of substantially subsistence
farming. Tourism, which is rapidly becoming a
major consumer industry, is being encouraged by
the government as a source of employment and

[p. 54-B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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Tonga's future is indeed, more than ever before, tied in with the future of other Pacific nations. Each country, no matter how small, must play an active role in the shaping of its own destiny — individually, as a separate unit, and collectively, as a vital part of the Pacific community.

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Tonga is changing, as she must in order to survive. Survival, however, rather than being contingent upon material gains, depends on the preservation of cultural identity, of self-respect, and of a sense of unity. Hopefully, in the pursuit of development and growth, Tonga will be able to keep a firm hold — not so much on the structure, but more importantly on *the spirit and the essence* of traditional Tongan society.

[p. 58-A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

178 As one prominent Tongan, Bishop Patelisio P.
181 Finau, said with poignancy at the "Seminar on
179 Social Issues in Development Planning in the South
Pacific," held in Suva in late 1973:

"Forced changes can be so artificial. Let us learn from history: people admire the humanness, the dignity and poise of our people. We still master time and are not its slaves. We do not want to join the 'rat race' . . . The search for technical assistance is necessary, but unless men can feel they can grow as human beings, grow as masters of their own development, share in decisions, no amount of material effort will achieve liberation."

[A.58-B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt

C,Q-4,5

(1952-1972) 1974

OUU Tonga OUU

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[P.58-C]

[Caption is on P.59]

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[296] The way of life, one of the most cherished and attractive aspects of Tonga. Among some very common sights are—laundry being done on a wash board (at left: Lata Fanua, Nuku'alofa), and a young person finding pleasure in a skulele (above: Tevita Me'e, 'Eua).

'Oku ma'u 'e he Tonga na fa'ahinga mo'ui fiefia 'a ia 'oku faka'amu ki a e fa'ahinga muli tokolahi. Ta 'i to'ohema: Ko Lata Fanua mei Nuku'alofa 'oku fai 'ene fo. Ta 'i 'olunga: Ko Tevita Me'e mei 'Eua 'oku fai 'ene ta 'ukulele.



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Tongans' love for children is as basic to them and to their philosophy of life as are their smiles. Here Maile Tongilava holds her great-nephew, Sione Kelemen, in Nuku'alofa.

Oku'ofa mo'oni e kau Tonga 'i he tamaiki valevale, o hange ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta ko eni 'i Nuku'alofa 'o e fehine tofonga malimali ko Maile Tongilava 'oku ne fua hono ki'i moko'puna ko Sione Kelemen.

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At the very heart of Tongan life is the family unit, and it is that which keeps Tonga strong: her loyalty within herself, her spirit of downiness, and the bonds of unity among her people. The family and friends of Dr. and Mrs. Potesi Fanua, shown here in Nuku'alofa, bespeak of that vital force which embraces persons of every age.

Ko e me'a mahu'inga 'aupito 'i Tonga 'a e mo'ui fakafamili. Ko e ta'eni 'o e famili, kainga mo e ngahi maheni 'o Toketa Potesi Fanua mo hono hoo ko Tupou.

643 of steps. This was called a *langi*, or 'heaven'; and
195 many of them remain in tolerable preservation, and
764 excite the wonder of the visitor by the huge size of
many of the stones, some of which measure over
20 ft. in length.

173 Many, probably most, of the names of the Tu'i
643 Tonga have been preserved, and their history
curiously reminds us of the story of the Carolin-
gians and Merovingians in France. One of the
Tu'i Tonga, called Takalaua, was murdered, and
his son and successor Kau'ulufonuafekele, from
weariness or fear, devolved the duties of govern-
ment on his younger brother, reserving to him-
self the honours and exultations of the office.
His brother assumed the title of Tu'i Ha'a
Takalaua ('King of the Takalauans'), and soon
got all the power into his hands, the Tu'i Tonga
becoming a *roi fainéant*. After a few generations,
however, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua became effete,
and the government was handed over to another
branch, called the Tu'i Kanukubolu ('King of
Kanukubolu,' the town in which he lived). This
is the title of the present dynasty. Representa-
tives of the other two lines, however, still exist,
but the titles are not used. The representative,
however, of the Tu'i Tonga holds even now a
quasi-sacred position, and is still addressed as the
gods used to be; and words sacred to deity are
used for all his movements.

114 Mariner mentions another semi-divine person called the Veschi
(vol. II, p. 80). This part of his narrative is very perplexing,
as neither Vescon nor Thomas nor any of the modern chiefs
knows anything about him.

192 The word used all over Polynesia for 'religion,'
197 'worship,' 'prayer,' etc., is *lotu*. Fortunately
this has a meaning in Tongan, and signifies 'a
seeking for something that is hard to find.' Thus
when famine prevails, the people *lotu kua*, i.e. go
all over the land looking for food. It is also used
for the restlessness of a caged animal seeking an
outlet, and for the cry of an animal for its mate or
companions. This is not the only word common
to Polynesia which finds its meaning in Tongan.
292 *Tabu* (or *taboo*), now of world-wide use, signifies in
197 Tongan that something which might be opened is
closed. These and other considerations lead one
to think that the Tongan language comes nearer
than most of the dialects to the original Polynesian
tongue.

782 3. The religious rites of the Tongans were few.
There was nothing in their religion corresponding
to our idea of worship. If they wanted something
—rain, fair winds, good crops, successful fishery—
or if they wished to prevent some calamity—such
782 as sickness, death, hurricanes, war—they would
789 seek the favour of a god, would offer sacrifice and
pray. But to come into his temple, to worship, to
sing his praises, to dwell upon his attributes—this
was a foreign idea altogether. Hence there was
very little in the Tongan religion to cultivate the
conscience, or to control the passions, or to elevate
the thoughts. Mariner thinks otherwise, and we
181 would gladly believe his favourable report of the
181 Tongan character. But all our information—and
114 much of it goes back to Mariner's time—contradicts
his statements. He even contradicts himself. The
Fetow he speaks so highly of was a monster of
iniquity; and there is no doubt that for centuries
theft, murder, lust, treachery, and almost every-
thing in the catalogue of evil, have been rife in
Tonga. No man's life or property, and no woman's
honour, was safe for a day.

782 They never went to their gods empty-handed; a
piece of kava root for making the native drink was
[793] a *sine qua non*. Baskets of food, too, were usually
brought in addition, and presented to the god or
his priest. One of the party would then state the
object of their visit, and implore the deity to grant
their request, or use his influence with the gods of

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2. Growers suffer from a lack of incentives. One example of this is the low price they are paid—45 percent of that obtained by the Copra Board.

3. A feeling of malaise and neglect by government in the outer islands. They have received directly only about 10 percent of development moneys, yet government needs to be *seen to be active* in this and other ways.

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4. A fatalism which assumes that God and Government will eventually provide, which obviates the need for individual action.

5. The panacea of tourism, the discovery of oil and other ventures that are expected to produce Kuwait-type returns. This obviates the need to turn seriously to agriculture.

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In a society where initiative belongs to the chiefs, government is the only significant innovator. As most of the reasons for low production seems to be cultural in origin, cultural solutions are most likely to solve them. This, initially, means a reappraisal of priorities and a reallocation of funds; a close examination of present methods of land use and land tenure; a revised education system which places less stress on academic learning; and the use of radio and other media to 'play-down' the attractions of Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu, for these are often highly exaggerated in the minds of the islands' population. Only direct government intervention can reduce migration to a rate where it more closely approximates economic development.³⁴ And as all of Tonga is a 'backward area' in relation to the countries with which it has economic connections, direct government intervention from these countries is also necessary to stimulate and maintain development. This, basically, requires better trade and shipping conditions and a higher rate of investment, not an increase in aid which in itself is unlikely to stimulate growth.

CONCLUSION

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In summary, population movement is not new in Tonga. While some older patterns, such as dispersed settlement, the full occupation of the smaller islands adjacent to Tongatapu and 'Uta Vava'u, and the siting of settlements in areas where there is a balance of land and sea resources, appear to have gone or been severely modified, other trends suggest the re-establishment of older patterns—the resettlement of some of the volcanic islands, possibly a more widespread use of the interior of islands, and the pre-eminence of Tongatapu and its capital, Nuku'alofa, which in a limited political sense could be considered the modern counterpart of ancient Mu'a with all its attendant powers of central authority. Other patterns continue—population moves among

³⁴ Cf. Myrdal (1966): Chapters 3, 4.

- 133 Tonga being a country made up of islands (150 at
182 present), the sea has always been a factor around which
181 life revolved. Tongans are reputedly among the most
adventuresome, adept seafarers. According to popular
174 belief, Tonga and Samoa may well have been the center
of dispersal for other island groups. That is, the first
Polynesians who migrated, say, from southeastern Asia
and Indonesia, made the area of Tonga and Samoa the
cradle of Polynesian civilization.
- 181 Thus, the innumerable references to the sea which
823 are made in this book, are reflective of the feeling of
respect for and communion with the sea which the
Tongans have always felt, as well as of the spirit of
adventure and seafaring which have long been a vital
part of the Tongan way of life.

Donna Gerstle

[p. 10-B]

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 Tongan society does not readily yield to anthropo-
logical treatment that seeks to provide an analysis of
'the social system'. The difficulty is that standard
anthropological approaches cannot account for the extensive
variability that characterizes Tongan social organization
[621] at the local level. Local organization in Tonga is
variable in two senses: first, there is considerable
diversity within each of the different kinds of social
groupings found at the local level, and second, the
statistical distributions of these variations change over
time. This study attempts to make intelligible the
variability of local organization in Tonga.

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571 Tongans have an idiom--"fa'iteliha"--which is best
translated as "to please oneself". This idiom expresses
a viewpoint about how people conduct themselves. According
to this view, people have alternatives in ordering their
lives and their choices are freely made. No adult need
ask another's advice. Above all, a person does not have
to explain himself, his motives, or his actions; on the
contrary, fa'iteliha--he pleases himself. Important

options available to ordinary Tongans include the possibility of switching denominational affiliation, changing household membership, shifting kin-group affiliation, moving to a different village, and varying the extent of participation in various local activities. With regard to all these elements, Tongans perceive their society as one in which there are few prescriptions or prohibitions, where people have alternatives in ordering their lives, and where individuals have considerable autonomy in exercising their options. My analysis of these materials is concerned in part with identifying some of the circumstances that lead a person to select one alternative rather than another.

Previous Anthropological Research in Tonga

Despite the many anthropologists who have worked in the Tonga Islands, none has published more than a few paragraphs dealing with local organization. One cannot be sure whether the absence of a satisfactory account of local organization in Tonga is not merely because no-one has attempted to provide it. Nevertheless, the absence of such an account is curious in view of the number of anthropologists who have worked in Tonga.

The first and most eminent of these anthropologists is A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, who spent a few years in Tonga

794 guests, the greater the honor that is reflected upon him.
562 Thus, Tongans' absorption with matters relating to church
564 membership is closely linked with what is possibly the
[574] primary cultural theme in Tongan society, namely, the
[181] process of continually re-ordering relationships of
relative rank.

794 In the enumeration of congregational activities,
reference was made to classes of membership within the
Mormon Church. The Wesleyan churches also put considera-
ble emphasis on grades of membership. In the Free
Wesleyan Church, young men and women become full members
of the church at some point in their late teens or early
twenties, after years of attendance at Sunday School and
later participation in the young people's Methodist
Christian Endeavor Society. The procedure is for them to
ask a relative or some other adult to submit their request
for admission to the grade of communicant (lotu fehu'i,
'enquiring prayer'). They are then appointed to junior
membership in one of the discussion groups in the
congregation. After some years, the leader of the group
may inform the steward of the congregation that the person
is ready to proceed to the highest grade of lay membership
in the church. The steward then submits the person's name
to the minister of the congregation and the minister
registers the change of status with the Central Office of

- 121 1. Given the absence of over-arching organization at the local level, how are the various local groupings in Tongan society articulated with one another?

This question is taken up in part in Chapter VI.

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575 where we see that the local groupings described in earlier
181 chapters are not formally related to one another, nor is
121 there any structural unit co-ordinating their activities,
182 either at the local level or the national level. Viewed in terms of a collectivity-oriented conception of social structure, local organization in Tonga would seem to lack integration. However, materials presented in the dissertation indicate that the activities of the various local groups are articulated with one another by the highly reticulated cross-cutting relationships of their members; persons engaged with one another in one set of activities are associated with others in different sets of activities and the composition of these groupings is changeable. The organization of these relationships within the framework of households, famili, congregations, and other groupings found at the local level is described in Chapters IV and V.
- 121 As argued in analyzing these materials, the data relating to these groupings resist analysis in terms of role-behavior and group-membership. One solution might be available in network analysis, much of the development of which stems from similar methodological difficulties with

(12) between diversity in the sense of multiplicity--i.e., the number of different groupings of the same kind--and diversity in the sense of structural differences among groupings of the same kind. Thus, in speaking of the diversity of household composition, I am referring to differences in the structure of household groups, not to the number of households found in Tongan villages. On the other hand, "denominational diversity" refers to the number of different denominations likely to be represented in each village, not to structural differences among congregations (although, to be sure, there are such differences). Both kinds of diversity reflect the "loose structure" of Tongan society. In Tonga we find, for example, that what matters in regard to religious affiliation is that a person should have some denominational affiliation, which denomination he belongs to is less important. Similarly, a villager achieves status through participating in ceremonial activities, but there is a wide range of alternative channels for mobilizing material and social resources to enable this participation.

[592] Tongans' households are functionally similar to one another, [612] but there are no prescriptions regarding structure; fāmilī [575] groupings and kautaha groupings are even less formally delimited. This diversity of social groupings is possible because a wide range of variation is tolerated in Tonga

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121 and there are few prescriptions or directives from above
181 regarding memberships and affiliations. People can there-
182 fore make the adaptations that best suit their particular
571 circumstances. Because people's particular circumstances
are not the same, their adaptations are different, and
thus we find structural differences among groupings of the
same kind, such as differences in household composition.
Similarly, the multiplicity of groupings (denominational
multiplicity and the variety of voluntary associations)
results from Tongans' welcoming new possibilities for
making adaptations. The specific adaptations a person
makes are affected by such factors as access to land, the
person's rank, the people with whom he is associated, and
the particular stratagems available to him. Thus, the
diversity of social groupings at the local level, which at
first may appear to be without pattern or explanation, is
intelligible when subjected to a close examination of the
diversity of circumstances in which people find themselves.

3. What is the explanation for the changeability of
villagers' memberships and affiliations?

Changes in memberships and affiliations are adapta-
tions that individuals make to different circumstances.
As villagers' circumstances change, they change their
adaptations. Thus we see that, as children come of school
age, parents seek to move the family to where the better

121 schools are located; at marriage, a woman is likely to
181 switch to her husband's denomination; and when affilia-
182 tion with a different fāmilli affords the opportunity of
571 access to needed resources, there may be a change in fāmilli
membership. That these changes are possible is further
indication of the looseness of structure found at the
local level of Tongan society.

4. Why is there variation in the statistical distribu-
tion of social groupings from one village to the next?

Variation in the statistical distribution of social
groupings from one village to the next is merely a second-
ary manifestation of the variability of Tongan social
organization at the local level. Certain features of a
village--such as its location, amount of available land,
whether it is a noble's estate and whether the noble is
resident--may be significant circumstances affecting the
adaptations of those who are associated with the village.

[621] However, as we saw in Chapter VI, the village as such is
not a significant social unit. My argument has been that
the distribution of people's memberships and affiliations
reflects the diversity of their adaptations. Thus, the
distribution of social groupings from one village to the
next is nothing more than a reflection of the particular
distribution of the adaptations of its members; variation
from one village to the next is epiphenomenal.

'Loose Structure' in Ethnological Perspective

121 I have argued in this dissertation that the diversity
181 and changeability of elements of local organization in
182 Tonga is not random but rather is explicable when consi-
571 dered in relation to the diverse and changing circumstances
in which Tongan villagers find themselves and the looseness
128 of prescriptions for behavior in Tongan society. In this
final section of the dissertation I wish to consider the
concept of loose structure in broader perspective, not
limited to the Tonga data.

121 Some critics of the concept of loose structure have
rejected it on the grounds that recourse to explanation in
terms of loose structure is tantamount to saying that
there is no structure to the society or that the structure,
such as it is, lacks stability or regularity. Thus, Potter
writes that "many influential writers on Thailand have
portrayed rural Thai society to the outside world as one
strangely devoid of structure or form" (1976: 11). He
challenges this "picture of Thailand as a society with a
vague, shifting, unstable structure" (p. 7), and argues
that the

cumulative effect [of recent studies of rural Thai
communities] shatters once and for all the loose-
structure paradigm. . . . A reexamination of [earlier
studies] reveals . . . basic structural elements
found in all Thai villages to which, because of the
loose-structure paradigm, these writers did not give
sufficient weight (1976: 148).

[1777]

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Resolution AND Discovery

[June

54 people and we hourly experienced it; all our care and attention did not prevent them from plundering us in every quarter and that in the 571 most daring and insolent manner, there was hardly any thing they 685 did not attempt, and yet as the crowd was always so great I would not allow the sentries to fire lest the innocent should suffer for the 685 guilty.¹ They once at Noon day attempted to take an anchor from off the Discoverys waste, they had certainly succeeded if the flook had not hooked one of the Chain plates in lowering it down the side from which they could not disengage it by hand, and tackles were things they were unacquainted with, or theres no doubt but they would [825] have found one. The only act of Violence they were guilty of, was the breaking the shoulder bone of one of our Goats, so that she died soon after; this loss fell upon themselves, as she was one of those I intended to leave upon the island, but this the person who did [it did] not know.

648 WEDNESDAY 18th. Early in the Morning of the 18th a circumstance 685 happened that strongly pointed out one of their customs; a man got 304

54 ¹ Theft, which had so often been exasperating in the islands, now, it seems, had Cook at his wits' end. 'All the diversions and exercises of these Islanders', writes Burney (f. 204v) 571 'are performed with a natural ease and grace not to be excelled, they are very handy and have great contrivance: some of their thefts were executed with a degree of genius, or 685 rather finesse that proved them no novices in the art of confederacy.' And King, 19 June: '... the Sailmakers & carpenters have been all the time on shore & fully employ'd, & in 648 spite of our endeavours they lose daily their tools, or something is stolen out of the tent, & often very audaciously, it cannot be suppos'd but that amongst 10,000 people surrounding us, all idle, but that many must be worthless.' They stole anything, and Cook applied the lash as he had never done before. Nor was he easy on his own men. Rickman (p. 104) records that 'Mr. Phillipson [*sic*], lieutenant of marines, lost all his bedding, by the carelessness of the centinel, who received 12 lashes for neglect of duty'. If anything material was stolen, Bayly says, 'we got them again by applying to the Chiefs. But whenever we catch the Thief he is punished with a severe flogging & if he is a man of Property Cap^t Cook obliges them to ransom him with Hoggs & Fruit, & in some instances may be said to have been guilty of great cruelty'.—T, p. 105. Edgar records 3 dozen lashes given a Tongan on shore for theft on 13 June; and in the ship (*Discovery*), on the 14th, 2 dozen and 3 dozen; on the 17th, 4 dozen; the 24th, 5 dozen, to a man who celebrated dinner with Clerke by stealing 'one Tumbler and two Wine Glasses'; while on the 28th, when three old offenders were taken prisoner, 'who had ston'd our Centinels and Wood Cutter's', Cook punished one with 3 dozen, the second with 4 dozen, and the third with 6 dozen lashes, and had both the last man's arms scored below the shoulder 'with a common Knife, that he might be known hereafter, as well as to deter the rest from theft or using us ill when on shore'.—'this the Man bore with all the Fortitude imaginable as indeed they all did their punishments, but for all this they continued their Insults and thefts to the last'.—Edgar log, f. 88. Small shot did no good: the people merely hid in the trees and threw more stones. Cook rather upset the young Gilbert, who found that the people of Tongatapu 'in every action . . . display'd an Elevation of the mind that wou'd do honour to an European in the most distinguished sphere in Life'. Yet there was the thieving. 'This vice which is the most prevalent here; Capt Cook punish'd in a manner rather unbecoming of a European viz^t by cutting off their ears; firing at them with small shot; or ball [this is hard to believe] as they were swimming or paddling to the shore; and suffering the people (as he rowed after them) to beat them with the oars; and stick the boat hook into them; where ever they could hit them. . . . The arm-ashing was 'an act I cannot account for, any other ways than to have proceeded from a momentary fit of anger, as it certainly was not in the least premeditated'.—Gilbert, pp. 42-3. We shall see other notes on the subject.

[181]

1777]

THINGS TO PERPLEX

[1021

Girls receiving such heavy blows from his villainous Hands. Had a spark of the Spirit of La Mancha's Knight inspired us we would have rescued them from the Hands of their Tormentors; but we sat still & the Man who knocked the other down finished the Ceremony (or whatever it may be called for we did not learn the reason of it); be it as it will the Girls went through it without any outcries or complaints & as soon as it was over they all rose up and danced as if nothing had happened. Our want of a competent Knowledge of their Language always kept us in the Dark in respect to this as well as other singular Customs among 'em; it is difficult to conceive why a Spot destined for a Scene of Mirth & pleasure should thus all at once be converted into a place of Punishment, and that those very persons who had come there for the express purpose of entertaining the Spectators should be made the Victims of brutal Violence & savage Barbarity!

These Dances were kept up alternately by Companies of Men & Women till late at Night, When an elderly Man, one of their Chiefs, made a Speech acquainting them that we were satisfied with our Entertainment & that it was time for them to repair to their respective Homes. They immediately dispersed & we were left with Phenow, his Mistress & attendants & a few other chiefs. Phenow's Servants brought us some Fish & roots for supper while he himself went scouring the Woods of Stragglers, whom we presently heard crying out & were told soon after that he had nearly killed one Man, a report we the more readily believed as we had seen many instances of the cruel Treatm[en]t the Tooas¹ or lower order of People receive from their Chiefs on the most trifling Occasions, & often through mere Wantonness,² the Age not being at all accountable for maiming or even killing his Servants.

In Countrys like these situated in the most delightful Climates, under the benign influence of indulgent skies, spontaneously producing the most delicious fruits in the greatest plenty, where Summer for ever smiles where Nature appears in her gayest attire, where all is beautiful all is lovely—mid Scenes like these the Imagination loves to rove, fond of indulging the Idea of having at last found the fortunate Isles where all those Blessings are contained that 'fancy fabled in her Age of Gold'—Where man lives in the State most agreeable to his Nature undisturbed by those Passions, those Vultures of the Mind, that are found to distract & torment him in artificial Society—where nothing but Benevolence Love & Charity dwell,

¹ *hi's, commoner[s]*.

² 'mere Wantonness' does not appear to be quite true, but it is true that the chiefs exercised an arbitrary and quite unmeasured power of punishment or vengeance.

1022] [1777] SAMWELL'S JOURNAL [May

181 where even-handed Justice holds her distinguished Seat where
Happiness for ever reigns! Mid Scenes like these

'With Joy they search, who Joy can feel, to find
Some honest Reason still to love Mankind.'¹

Fix Pain to the Mind, pleased with contemplating human Nature
under its most favourable & flattering Appearance, when led by the
Hand of Truth,

'From Fancy's Visionary Realms he flies
and Wakes to meet Life's dull Realities'—

565 Wakes to be a witness with us of many Scenes of Barbarity that gave
681 us just Cause to lament the Depravity of human Nature, & to see in
643 lively Colours how unfit a human being is to possess an u[n]limited
694 Power over his fellow-Creatures; for, from a man exalted to such an
unnatural Pitch of greatness, nothing can be expected but the most
flagrant Injustice, the most wanton acts of Cruelty at all times as his
Passions or Interest shall suggest. It is not to be inferred from this
that these Islanders are cruel, fierce & savage; on the contrary, from
what could be observed during our short Stay among them, from
their general Behaviour to us & to one another they appear to be a
friendly & a hospitable People. We must not look to that origin to
account for the barbarous Treatment of the common People, but to
the exorbitant Power of the Chiefs, so exorbitant indeed that we
have the greatest Reason to believe that some of the head Men, such
as Powlohow Fatafee,² Phenow, Malawagee & a few more can order
a Man to be put to death whenever they please, with or without
assigning a reason for so doing, but it may be remembered to the
Honour of Powlohow that such is the humanity of his Disposition
that he has never yet taken away the Life of any of his Subjects.

565 From our scanty knowledge of their Language & short stay among
them it is impossible that we should know any thing circumstantial
of their Government and Policy, if they have any such fixed & deter-
minate among them; perhaps we shall not be very wide of the Truth
in thinking that they have certain Laws by which the conduct &
actions of one chief towards another are regulated, but that the
common People are intirely at their Disposal in respect both to their

¹ I do not know where, in the vast ocean of eighteenth century literature, this islet of
verse and the following one raise their heads—whether indeed they are specks in some
remote and sunny atoll group, or perhaps chips from a continent. Exploratory expeditions
have set forth, and returned, in vain.

² It looks as if Samwell has got hold of Paulaho's family name, Fatafehi, and does not
here mean two separate chiefs. But one cannot be sure.

1777]

THE TONGANS

[1041

our Cloth & matting very strong & neatly made, some of these are 291
 brown others quite white & they are always fringed. They have also 292
 various kinds of Matts with fringes & tassels worked on them which 301
 they wear upon extraordinary Occasions, they also wear over all
 round the middle a dress made of Leaves more for ornament than
 use, & they wear one like it but less about their necks, which they
 also ornament with Necklaces made of Shells, but these soon gave
 way to our blue beads of which they were extravagantly fond both
 men & women. The common Dress of the Chiefs & which seemed to 565
 distinguish them from the common people was a large piece of Cloth 291
 round their waist & plaited at the upper part, which is done by the
 women with the same Care & nicety as Shirts are plaited in England
 tho' the folds are not near so fine. This was no unbecoming Dress, 302
 they oil their Hair & Shoulders with Cocoa nut oil after bathing, & 302
 thus dress'd and decorated an Amsterdam Chief cuts no despicable
 appearance. They wear their Hair long, flowing over their Shoulders,
 but they are obliged to cut it off on particular Occasions such as the
 Death of the Chiefs or of their relations, and for the same Reason 763
 both men & women & even Children cut off their little fingers: many 304
 of them have both cut off, there are but very few that have not lost 752
 one, they cut it off just underneath the first joint, tye up the Stump
 with grass & leaves¹ & it soon heals, they cut them off with stone
 Chizels & then bury them in the ground. Their Arms & Cheek bones 304
 are also marked in memory of the dead. Their walk is strait & 765
 majestic & their manners free & open. In their Dispositions they are
 friendly hospitable & humane, very tender to & careful of old People 181
 and the Sick, & civil & obliging to each other, treat their women well. 516
 I was much pleased with the following instance of their gratitude
 which I happened to be a witness to. A large Sailing Canoe having 431
 got her rigging entangled with the Resolution's driver boom was in
 danger of carrying away her Mast, & the Indians had made several
 Efforts but in vain to disengage it, which a young Gentleman who
 had the Watch upon deck observing ordered one of the Men to
 assist them, who thinking it no part of his duty growled about it &
 was very unwilling to go, on which the gentleman jumped on the
 boom himself & got the Canoe clear; the Indians then insisted upon
 his accepting a large bunch of Cocoa nuts as a present for the Service
 he had done them, but this he would not accept tho' he was much
 pleased with the Offer.

¹ There can have been no uniformity of treatment. Anderson speaks of no treatment at all; Mariner says (II, p. 179) that after the operation the stump was merely 'held in the smoke and steam arising from the combustion of fresh-plucked grass', this stopping the flow of blood.

1306]

[1777]
APPENDIX III

175 according to the estimated consequence of the Gentleman to whom you are
 634 introduced, in this I believe they guess well, in respect to myself I am sure
 643 they do; however this old Gentleman, was nothing more than Agee or
 Prince of this particular district where we happen'd to lay,¹ and upon all
 Occasions did homage as a subject to Powlahow, who we found to be
 indisputably to all intents and purposes Agee-lahi or King of this Island
 and all its various Connexions. Feenow, tho' not King Feenow, was still a
 175 very powerfull Gentleman; in the first place he was their Generalissimo
 634 and upon all Occasions led their Armies to battle; in the next he was an
 157 active, stirring fellow, enterprizing and extremely popular, so that though
 701 he was not by his Station so consequential as some few of them, yet by his
 disposition and attention he render'd himself every atom as formidable,
 and his friendship might be, and was, productive of more services to us
 than any of [the] rest cou'd have contributed. Powlahow most certainly was
 175 Lord of all, but he was an indolent, fat, greasy rogue, whose sole delight
 643 was eating, drinking, laughing, and the Diversions of the Seraglio; let him
 157 but abound in these amusements, which was pretty much the case with him
 and who wou'd might reign and direct the affairs of State for what he car'd.

On the [19th] instant Cap^t Cook distributed among the principal
 175 People, some of his Cattle. He gave them a Bull and a Cow; Horse and
 129 Mare, several Sheep & some Goats of different Sexes; these I hope and
 flatter myself will flourish and become a blessing to them. I think they are
 [181] full as likely to increase among these People as among any set of Indians
 we know of; these are by no means so much the Children of the Hour as
 our good friends of Otaheite and the Society Isles; they have infinitely
 more thought and attention to the morrow than those good Fellows, which
 their industry in agriculture and extensive plantations sufficiently evince.
 000 On the other hand, in respect to our hungry Acquaintance, the Zealanders,
 every thing among them so immediately becomes the property of force and
 power, that no Man knows what may be his possessions tomorrow; conse-
 quently nothing is worth keeping that can possibly be made to accrue to
 our use or satisfaction to day. In my Opinion the first friendly office that
 can be done those People wou'd be if possible to correct their Dispositions
 in respect to each other, untill that can be brought about, every attempt to
 contribute to the good of that Society in general must be ineffectual, as
 that universal, internal discord which reigns throughout the Country
 wou'd inevitably defeat them.

175 On the 8th of July, I went with Cap^t Cook by particular invitation and
 644 desire of Powlahow to his habitation to be present at a very extraordinary
 651 Ceremony, perform'd in honour of his Sons arrival at such a particular
 Age. This House of Powlahow's is situate in the same part of the Country
 361 as we went to in order to visit Mallawogga; this being, as I before observ'd
 175 a most agreeable part of the Isle, many of the principal People have Houses

¹ This is a misapprehension of Macaliuaki's status, as has been made plain before. But he was, according to Anderson, p. 950 above, the 'Lord' or 'Baron' of the district of 'Noogoo noogoo'—i.e. the island Nukunuku, south-east of the anchorage.

[1361

5. KING

AT TONGA, MAY-JULY 1777

[Adm 55/116]

f. 74 [20 MAY 1777.] Feenow expressing a great desire to see what exhibitions we cou'd make, in the morning the Captⁿ order'd the marines from both ships on shore, where they went thro their exercise & shew'd the effects of their guns by aiming at an empty canoe; as canoes were at times passing by the place where they stood, they stop'd fir'ing upon any danger of hurting anyone, nevertheless Feenow bid us continue on, & seem'd totally indifferent at the risk; there was a vast multitude collected together, and the principal people from the neighbouring Islands. I know of no judgement that is more liable to err, than in giving the numbers in a croud; the most moderate computers suppos'd 2000 collect'd whilst others guest 3 times that number; I am inclin'd to the first estimation, as the open space they stood in, could not hold 6000. When the marines had given tolerable satisfaction to the natives, we were bid to stay & see one of their dances; it appear'd evident by the care they took of selecting their principal people as well as putting on their handsomest cloaths and other ornaments, that they meant to rival or surpass us. Whilst they were preparing, two more brought into the space what we call a drum, which however has no resemblance to one. It is a cylindrical piece of wood 4 feet long hollow'd in the inside, yet clos'd at both ends, & open only by a small chink of 3 or 4 inches, running nearly its whole length, & about the thickness of a stout man. The chink being towards them, they beat upon this drum with two round sticks about a foot long & the thickness of a walking stick; this makes a coarse, yet loud & powerful sound, and a little varied by striking the middle or end of the trunk. . . .

f. 74v. We all I believe had the feelings of people that were fairly surpass'd when we little expectd it; & the natives seemd to have the consciousness of being superior to us in their amusements & ask'd us if we woud shew them some more of our meia¹ (which is what they call theyr dances): the Captain said he would in the evening, & desir'd the natives to collect themselves & not be absent. Accordingly in the evening some excellent fireworks were got on shore & preparations made to exhibit them; as it was not proper to begin till dark many of the Natives began to move off, but the first sky rocket brought them back; few of us had seen such a variety of good fireworks & we shar'd in the pleasure with the natives; but our admiration was cool, while theirs was express'd with a warmth & violence, which our civiliz'd mode of restraining the passions cou'd never equal & hardly conceive; such roaring, jumping, & shouting, as made us perfectly satisfied that we had gaind a compleat victory in their own minds. Sky & water rockets were what affect'd them most, the water rocket exercis'd their inquisitive faculties, for they cou'd not conceive how fire shoud burn under water. Omai who was always very ready to magnify our country,

¹ me'e.

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[1777]
APPENDIX III

- 175 account; other disorders which affect their appearance, but not common,
 164 are large broad ulcers which appear in every part of the body, & when
 [765] heal'd leaves behind ugly scars like bits of skin ty'd together. We also saw
 several people with their Arms & legs swelled the whole length to a pro-
 digious size. Notwithstanding these disorders, they may be considerd as
 uncommonly healthy, for I never heard of any one being seen confin'd sick
 in his house, & all their actions shew that they are not debilitated by
 175 diseases, the Consequence of Indolence or unnatural way of living; the
 304 men are punctulated or as they call it Tatowd, from the loins to half down
 171 the thighs, often Elegantly, but no spiral lines as at New Zealand. The
 women have only a few lines or spots about the hands or fingers. The
 142 General figure of the women is too masculine to pretend to beauty: they
 175 are of a middle height, stout, well limbd, broad faced, with rather harsh
 562 features, their hands are small with delicate fingers; their Eyes are ex-
 pressive & countenances the best natur'd in the World, which need not be
 sourd from the behaviour of the men, who treat them with regard &
 tenderness, admit them to their meals & their Kava societies; although
 175 custom seems mostly to seporate them on these Occasions. The behaviour
 562 of men towards Women is doubtless the best criterion to judge how near
 Barbarous people approach in manners to civiliz'd Nations: the mildness
 152 & good temper so remarkable amongst these People, with that settled
 571 respect to their superiors, that perfect command of their Passions, their
 565 Peaceable dispositions, & many other Qualities that do honour to the
 157 human mind, prove abundantly that these people are far remov'd from a
 savage state. We may be somewhat surpris'd how they came posses'd of
 175 such Qualities, which require, with all our advantages, no small trouble
 181 for us to obtain; Particularly as these People have few Vices that we could
 685 perceive, to counterbalance their Virtues. They are certainly much given
 to thieving & one wou'd wish to render this less a crime in them than it
 would be in us; for that reason I shoud migitate [sic] its commonality by
 observing that it is not the same vice with them as it is with us, that it
 arises from an intense curiosity, urging them on to possess articles so
 extraordinary & belonging to a new People; else why do they steal in-
 discriminately whatever comes in their way, very frequently things that
 [565] cannot be of the smallest use to them. The Principal Chiefs were however
 in a great measure free from this crime.
- 175 Canoe's. There are two sorts of Canoes. The small ones with Outriggers are
 501 from 20 to 30 feet long, 2 broad & $1\frac{1}{2}$ deep, it is sharp like a wedge at both
 ends, & widens from the after end to about $\frac{1}{2}$ of its length when it begins
 gradually to grow narrower to the foremost end; towards both ends it is
 deckd over, the middle space is left open for the Paddlers. The Canoe
 consists of more than 20 pieces, which cannot be from Necessity as the
 pieces are the same in all, but from design; & these are so neatly join'd
 together as to gain the Admiration of our Carpenters; the seams on the
 outside are scarcely Visible, but on the inside is a ridge made from the

Rank in Tonga¹

Adrienne L. Kaeppler
Bernice P. Bishop Museum

The Tongan archipelago lies in the South Pacific approximately between 18° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 176° west longitude, southeast of Fiji and southwest of Samoa. The 269 square miles are divided among some 150 islands, many of which are uninhabited. The population in 1967 was more than 78,000. Tongans are Polynesians, but there is a definite admixture with Fijians, with whom, both traditionally and at the present time, there is much social intercourse. Many Tongan genealogies include one or more Fijians, and these people are more highly admired than Samoans, who are closer to Tongans in both physical type and culture. A well known example is the late Queen Sālote's half-brother, who is the son of her father, Tupou II, and a high-ranking Fijian woman.

Tongans have their own language, derived from a proto-language which seems to have been one of the first groups to appear in the differentiation of the Polynesian language family. The Tongan language has its closest similarities with Uvean and Niuean, and somewhat lesser ones with Samoan and Fijian (Green 1966: 13). Highly developed in Tongan is a language of respect, in which words reflect societal ranking. Thus for the same meanings, when speaking to the king one uses different words from those used when speaking to chiefs, and still other words are used in speaking to commoners. Thus "go" is *hā'ele* when referring to the King, *me'a* to chiefs, *'alu* to commoners, and *lele*, the ordinary word for "run," is used when speaking of oneself to persons of higher rank. Integrally related to the language of respect is speechmaking. Ceremonial attendants (*matāpule*) are the traditional speechmakers and are of necessity well versed in the language of respect.

The most pervasive concept in Tongan culture is that of hierarchical ranking. All interpersonal relationships in the island kingdom are governed by principles of rank, and material culture and language reflect this ranking.² The purpose of this essay is to delineate how categories of people are ranked, the principles on which rank and status are based, and the relationships between the various kinds of ranking. The focus is ethnographic, and an attempt will be made to describe organizing principles important to the Tongans in ordering their social relationships.

In order to understand rank within Tongan society, one must conceptually distinguish social status, governing relationships within a small kin group, from societal ranking, governing relationships within the society as a whole. Social status, which is based upon traceable consanguineal

ADRIENNE L. KAEPLER

Folklore as Expressed in the Dance in Tonga¹

121 A STUDY OF DANCE in Tonga must go back to the more basic art of poetry, for
 535 understanding the poetry is essential if one is to understand the meaning of the
 538 dance. On the other hand, if one is to study poetry or any other verbal art in Tonga,
 it is essential to study dance, for today folklore is expressed mainly through the
 medium of dance. Folklore and dance, then, are interrelated arts and must be
 viewed in relation to the socio-political system which produced them.

538 There are two basic kinds of dance in Tonga—one which has movement as its
 128 main element, and one which accompanies poetry. It is with this latter type that we
 535 will be concerned, and it can further be divided into two types. One type sings
 538 the praise of the royal family, the high chiefs, and an ethnocentric love of Tonga,
 186 and is essentially an expression of allegiance to the established political and social
 order; the second kind comprises legends and folklore from Tonga's hallowed
 past, and also from more recent times. Indirectly, however, this second type of
 poetry functions in the same way as the first. The example discussed in this paper
 is of this latter type.

535 The usual kind of dance that accompanies poetry is called *lakalaka*, which literal-
 ly means "to walk" and, indeed, the leg movements are basically a walk that moves
 one step to the left, then one step to the right, and occasionally forward and back.
 The arm movements are graceful and intricate, deriving their distinctive character
 from the rotation of the lower arm. The dance is performed by all the men and
 554 women of a village ranged in two or more rows facing the audience. The men
 stand on the right side (from the observer's point of view) and women stand on
 the left; the order in which they stand is determined by social status. The men do
 one set of virile movements while the women do another set of very graceful move-
 535 ments so that there are two dances going on simultaneously. Each group interprets
 538 the poem in a manner consistent with the Tongan view of movements suitable and
 appropriate for each sex. The movements dramatize the poetry. They do not
 pantomime the words, nor do they symbolize in the sense that one movement
 symbolizes one phrase, or idea. Rather they are figurative: the movements create
 an abstract picture to which a number of meanings can be assigned, and conversely,
 181 one idea can be alluded to by several different sets of movements. This illustrates
 the Tongan value of "not going straight," for the proper way to refer to ideas

FOLKLORE IN THE DANCE IN TONGA

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or concepts is in a round-about way. This value is further exemplified in the poetry, for the words do not necessarily tell the meaning of the poem. Thus the dance creates a double abstraction—the movements allude to the words while the words allude to the hidden meaning. 535
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[181]

The poetry is a series of concepts and references. Theoretically, these allusions should be readily recognizable in a homogeneous society such as Tonga, where the people have a common cultural tradition, and the poetry is written with the view that only allusions are necessary and the meaning is clear. In fact, however, only a few people, who are usually other poets, claim to understand the allusions with their mythological and genealogical references. 538
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To illustrate these allusive qualities of *lakalaka* poetry I shall use as an example a *lakalaka* from Lapaha, Mu'a, Tongatapu. Lapaha was the former capital of Tonga and the traditional home of the most exalted line of Tongan rulers, the Tu'i Tonga. The people of Lapaha are known for their dancing and their knowledge of the sacred and legendary lore of Tonga. The poetry (*ta'anga*) of this *lakalaka* was composed about 1948 by the late Queen Salote Tupou III, who was a descendant on her mother's side of the Tu'i Tonga line. The melody (*fasi*) and dance movements (*baka*) were created by Vili Pusiaki of Lapaha. This *lakalaka* alludes to the legendary Tongan turtle named Sangone, but the story of Sangone is not told because it is assumed that everyone already knows the story. In fact, the tale of Sangone is only suggested in the poetry by eight lines which are a riddle that was used by a Tongan chief to find the shell of Sangone after it was buried in Samoa. The object of the poetry, however, hidden in allusions, symbols, and metaphors, is to trace the genealogy and praise the deeds and accomplishments of Tupou I, progenitor of the present line of kings—the throne now being held by Tupou IV. 539
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[643]
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The story of the turtle Sangone has been published by E. W. Gifford.² To summarize the main points, Hina of the underworld and a Samoan lived together in Tonga for a long time. When the Samoan wanted to visit his relatives in his homeland, Hina gave him her mother, a turtle named Sangone, to carry him home. Hina told him that the first thing he must do on his arrival in Samoa was to get a coconut-leaf mat and a bunch of coconuts for Sangone to bring back to Tonga. The Samoan did not do as he was told but went off to visit his relatives. The townspeople cooked Sangone and buried her shell in a hole. A boy named Lafai who saw where they buried Sangone was told that he would remain small (*pana*) and on the day that Sangone was found he would die.

When the story reached Tonga that Sangone's shell was buried in Samoa, the King of Tonga sent his brother, Fasi'apule, with a party to look for Sangone's shell. When they arrived in Samoa, they were served the customary *kava* (a ceremonial drink made of an infusion of the root of *Piper methysticum*). Fasi'apule, speaking in riddles that the Samoans did not understand, asked for several items. The people asked Lafaipana, who by this time was quite old but still a boy in appearance, to interpret the riddles. He knew the references, and Fasi'apule's requests were granted. Fasi'apule then sent for Lafaipana and asked him where Sangone was buried. After Lafaipana had showed the Tongan party the place he asked for a "perch for his pigeon" before they dug up Sangone. Fasi'apule, not understanding that this was a riddle, sent his men to get a perch for a pigeon.

FOLKLORE IN THE DANCE IN TONGA

as a back rest during the coronation of the 'Tu'i Kanokupolu at a place called Havelu in the village of Kanokupolu.

The second part of Stanza 10 ends the poem by telling us that the reason for the poetry is the commemoration of the great deeds of the chiefly ancestors of the present King, such as the retrieval of Sangone's shell and the distribution of land. It is such deeds that elevated the chiefs of old, and it is their descendants who are today's chiefs, responsible for leading the people and making possible celebrations such as the one during which this *lakalaka* is performed. The celebration (*kato-anga*) is referred to in the words "there are many people at *vaba' akolo*" (the area that divides two villages at the place where the palace stands). Line 53, a stylized statement borrowed from an ancient dance type (*fa'abiula*), refers to the stringing of pandanus keys for a necklace worn by high chiefs at celebrations. The second part of this stanza, then, brings us back to the present and acknowledges the high position of the chiefs to whom the people owe their allegiance. This is the closing counterpart of the *fakatapu* in Stanza 2.

The preoccupation with genealogy, apparent in the poetry, reflects the importance of ancestry in the Tongan social system. On the social level all titles and property are validated by appealing to genealogy, and on an everyday level all interpersonal relationships are determined by the genealogies of the persons involved. The structure of the poetry also pays strict attention to the rules of Tongan etiquette, which also is based on a hierarchical ranking of persons. The *fakatapu* (Stanza 2) must acknowledge the presence of chiefs and people of high rank; and the ending must again refer to the chiefs by bringing attention back to them. It is a stylized way for the *lakalaka* to ask for permission to speak, and after having spoken, again defer to the chiefs.

The story, then—that of Sangone in this case—is really secondary and is used as a vehicle for presenting the real object of the poetry and its accompanying dance: to pay allegiance to the established order of Tongan society.

The poetry can be interpreted in many different ways and on many different levels. This paper suggests only a few of the many possible meanings. Many of the references are quite obscure and hidden in rhetoric and metaphorical language. Even the performers seldom know the meaning of what they are performing. They know that the references are to chiefs, but the actual stories and circumstances are known only to other poets who deal in similar Tongan lore, and sometimes to the choreographer, who may be given an explanation by the poet who composed it. The interpretation given here is a composite of information given to me by several individuals, including dancers who knew only a few of the references, a ceremonial attendant (*matāpule*) who helps to teach the dance and explained the obscure references in Stanza 7, and a woman employed in the Palace office who knew the meaning of Stanza 8. Only the Honorable Ve'ehala, keeper of the Palace records, knew the meanings of Hau-o-Momo, Tangoipomana, the reference to 'ika moana, and the meaning of Stanza 9. Ve'ehala, however, is a prolific poet who has written *lakalaka* poetry for his own village as well as official *lakalakas* for the Tongan government.

The performance of the poetry with dance accompaniment is usually on state occasions, as a "gift" to the Palace, along with first fruits or on other food giving occasions, as a farewell or welcome for one of the royal family, for local celebra-

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126 gathering, translation and search for meaning of these texts were
128 probably the most frustrating aspects of my research. (See Kaeppler
121 1967a for an interpretation of one of these texts.) I also worked
129 on the interrelations between tapa design, the dances, and their texts,
and I was instructed in the making of tapa, mats, and other kinds of
122 plaiting. Actually, it was my good fortune to be in Tonga at the time
of the funeral and mourning ceremonies of the Queen. These were not
only illuminating in themselves but gave me insights into aspects of
121 culture that I might otherwise have missed. Throughout my research,
181 no matter what aspects of culture I examined, the fundamental theme
of social organization always arose. Language, material culture,
dance, religion--all referred ultimately to the fundamental emphasis
of this society on its socio-political system.

[430 cont.]

175 made of reeds, diagonally plaited in an elegant taste. A door,
351 which consisted of several boards, and was hung on a rope instead
417 of hinges, gave admittance into a plantation on each side. We
175 separated, in order to examine this beautiful country, and at
123 every step had reason to be well pleased with our discoveries. The
175 door was so contrived as to shut after us without any assistance,
351 and the enclosures were over-run with climbers, and especially a
137 bind-weed, having flowers of a beautiful sky-blue. The prospect
[417] now changed into an extensive garden, where we saw a number of
tufted shaddock-trees, tall coco-palms, many bananas, and a few
bread-fruit trees. In the midst of this spot the path led us to a
dwelling-house, like that on the lawn, surrounded by a great variety
[126] of shrubs in blossom, whose fragrance filled the air. We roamed
through [431] these bushes, and collected a variety of plants which
we had never met with in the Society Isles. The inhabitants seemed
175 to be of a more active and industrious disposition than those of
123 Taheitee, and instead of following us in great crouds wherever we
609 went, left us entirely by ourselves, unless we entreated them to
[181] accompany us. In that case we could venture to go with our pockets
[171] open, unless we had nails in them, upon which they set so great a
value that they could not always resist the temptation. We passed
175 through more than ten adjacent plantations or gardens, separated
351 by enclosures, communicating with each other by means of the doors
361 before mentioned. In each of them we commonly met with a house,
of which the inhabitants were absent. Their attention to separate
175 their property seemed to argue a higher degree of civilization than
181 we had expected. Their arts, manufactures, and music were all more
[171]

[431 cont.]

175 cultivated, complicated, and elegant than at the Society Islands.
171 But, in return, the opulence, or rather luxury, of the Taheitians
[181] seemed to be much greater. We saw but few hogs and fowls here, and
[433] that great support of life, the bread-tree, appeared to be very
[23] scarce. Yams, therefore, and other roots, together with bananas,
[262] are their principal articles of diet. Their cloathing too, compared
[291] to that of Taheitee, was less plentiful, or at least not converted
[342] into such an article of luxury as at that island. Lastly, their
[351] houses, though neatly constructed, and always [432] placed in a
175 fragrant shrubbery, were less roomy and convenient. We made these
171 reflections as we advanced towards the landing place, where several
511 hundred natives were assembled; and their appearance immediately
struck us with the idea, that if they did not enjoy so great a
profusion of the gifts of nature as the Taheitians, those gifts
175 were perhaps distributed to all with greater equality. We advanced
609 among them, and were accosted with caresses by old and young, by men
201 and women. They hugged us very heartily, and frequently kissed our
hands, laying them on their breast, with the most expressive looks
175 of affection that can be imagined. The general stature of the men
141 was equal to our middle size, from five feet three to five feet ten
175 inches. The proportions of the body were very fine, and the contours
142 of the limbs extremely elegant, though something more muscular than
at Taheitee, which may be owing to a greater and more constant exertion
of strength in their agriculture and oeconomy. Their features were
extremely mild and pleasing, and differed from the Taheitian faces,
in being more oblong than round; the nose sharper, and the lips rather
[302] thinner. Their hair was generally black and strongly curled, and
[237]

[437 cont.]

175 and pointed; some had long handles and a blade which resembled the
411 blade of a fleam; others were crooked, knobbed, &c. But by far
175 the greatest part were carved all over in many chequered patterns,
411 which seemed to have required a long space of time, and incredible
53 [412] patience, especially when we consider, that a sharp stone, or a
piece of coral, are the only tools which the natives [438] can
employ in this kind of work. All the different compartments
were wrought and divided with a regularity which quite surprised
us, and the whole surface of the plain clubs was as highly polished,
as if our best workmen had made them with the best instruments.

175 Besides clubs, they had spears of the same wood, which were sometimes
411 plain, sharp-pointed sticks, and sometimes barbed with a sting-ray's
[237] tail. They had likewise bows and arrows, of a peculiar construction.
The bow which was six feet long, was about the thickness of a little
finger, and when slack, formed a slight curve. Its convex part was
channelled with a single deep groove, in which the bow string was
lodged, and which was likewise big enough sometimes to contain the
arrow made of reed, near six feet long, and pointed with hard wood.
When the bow was to be bent, instead of drawing it so as to increase
the natural curvature, they drew it the contrary way, made it
perfectly strait, and then formed the curve on the other side. The
bow-string by this means never needed to be tense, as the arrow
received sufficient moment by changing the natural bent of the bow;
the recoil of which was never violent enough to hurt the arm. Our
seamen, unacquainted with the nature of these weapons, broke several

175 of them by drawing them like other bows. The immense quantity of
181 arms belonging to the natives, corresponded very ill with the pacific
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[438 cont.]

175 disposition, which had strongly [439] shone through their whole
181 behavior towards us, and which still manifested itself in their
609 readiness to dispose of them. It is probable that they have some-
439 times quarrels amongst themselves, or wage war with the neighbouring
175 islands, but we could by no means discover any thing from their
124 conversation or signs, which might have served to throw a light on
this subject. The several articles above enumerated, together with
175 all their sorts of cloth, their elegant mats, which for workmanship
439 and variety excelled even those of Taheitee, and a great many other
171 trifles too tedious to mention, they brought to sell, and with great
eagerness exchanged for small nails, and sometimes for beads. But
in respect of the latter their taste was different from that of the
Taheitiens; for the latter always chose those that were transparent,
but the people of Ea-oowhe would take no other than black opaque
175 beads, with red, blue, and white stripes. We traded with them till
439 dinner-time, and then re-embarked in order to return on board the
[648] ships; but were obliged to sit down contented with the loss of a
grapnel, which the natives had contrived to steal almost as soon as
it was let down into the water. Their kind looks and acclamations
followed us till we returned on board, where a number of them traded
in their canoes with the same sorts of goods which we had purchased
175 on shore. We saw several persons among them afflicted with leprous
164 complaints, in some of which the disorder had risen to a [440]
high degree of virulence; one man in particular had his whole back
and shoulders covered with a large cancerous ulcer, which was
perfectly livid within, and of a bright yellow all round the edges.
A woman was likewise unfortunate enough to have all her face destroyed

[442 cont.]

175 the bottom of which we perceived a little mount with two huts
764 upon it. A number of reeds stuck into the ground, at the distance
[487] of one foot asunder, encompassed this rising, and several
[417] casuarinas, with their slender branches and thread-like leaves,
[137] were planted before it. The natives, whom we had engaged to
accompany us, would not approach this mount; but we advanced and
looked into the huts, though with great difficulty, because the
bottom of the roof was not above a span from the ground. We found
a corse in one of these huts, which had been lately deposited; but
175 the other was [443] empty. Thus the casuarina or club-wood (tōa),
764 here, as in the Society Islands, pointed out the repositories of the
137 dead. Its dull brownish-green colour, and its long spreading branches,
171 where the leaves are thinly scattered and hang weeping down,
certainly become these melancholy places to the full as well as the
175 funereal cypress. It is therefore probable that the same train of
764 ideas, which consecrated the latter in one part of the world to shade
181 the tombs, might fix upon the former in these regions for a similar
175 purpose. The mount on which the huts were placed was formed of
764 small pieces of coral rock, like gravel, accumulated without any
175 particular order. From thence we proceeded a little farther, and
311 still found the same elegant plantations and the same kind of houses
361 in the middle as before. Our natives conducted us through one of
175 them, where they entreated us to sit down, and procured some coco
609 nuts, which proved extremely refreshing. At our return we found
175 our boats just ready to put off, and embarked with them immediately.
123 [609] We had only seen a few of the natives on our walk, who passed un-
concernedly by us towards the place where the captains traded; and

175 [448 cont.]

311 Part of it appeared to have been planted
[244] with yams, but the rest was full of grass, and had a little swamp
[133] in the middle, where the purple water-hen, of poule sultane,
[136] resided in great numbers. As soon as we left this, we entered into
[487] a lane about six feet wide, between two fences of reed, which
[417] enclosed extensive plantations on each side. Here we met many of
[609] the natives, who were traveling to the beach with loads of
[201] provisions, and courteously bowed their heads as they passed by us
in sign of friendship, generally pronouncing some monosyllable or

175 [449] other, which seemed to correspond to the Tahitian tayo. The
351 enclosures, plantations, and houses were exactly in the same style
184 as at Ea-cowhe, and the people had never failed to plant odoriferous

175 shrubs round their dwellings. The mulberry, of which the bark is
137 manufactured into cloth, and the bread-tree, were more scarce than
at the Society Isles, and the apple of those islands was entirely
unknown, but the shaddock well supplied its place. The season of
spring, which revived the face of all nature, adorning every plant
with blossoms, and inspiring with joyful songs the feathered
tribe, doubtless contributed in a great measure to make every object

175 pleasing in our eyes. But the industry and elegance of the natives,
311 which they displayed in planting every piece of ground to the greatest
181 advantage, as well as in the neatness and regularity of all their
works, demanded our admiration, whilst it gave us room to suppose,
that they enjoyed a considerable degree of happiness.

175 One of the lanes between the enclosures led us to a little grove,
137 which we admired for its irregularity. An immense casuarina tree
[136] far out-topped the rest, and its branches were loaded with a vast
number of blackish creatures, which we took for crows at a distance,

[459 cont.]

175 An
565 excellent print, executed by Mr. Sherwin, has been made from his drawing,
114 which expresses the countenance of this chief, and the mild character
[18] of the whole nation, better than any description. It is inserted in
[20] captain Cook's account of this voyage, and represents Attahha in the
[43] action of thanksgiving, laying a nail on his head, which he had
175 received as a present. After breakfast, the captains and my father
565 prepared to return to the shore with him; but just as he was going
152 out of the cabin, he happened to see a Tahitian dog running about the
231 deck; at this sight he could not conceal his joy, but clapped his hands
on his breast, and turning to the captain, repeated the word goorree (15)

[47] 15. Ooree signifies a dog at Tahitee; and ghoorree at
New Zealand.

[43] [460] near twenty times. We were much surprised to hear that he knew the
name of an animal which did not exist in his country, and made him a
present of one of each sex, with which he went on shore in an extasy of
175 joy. That the name of dogs should be familiar to a people, who are not
231 possessed of them, seems to prove either that this knowledge has been
propagated by tradition from their ancestors, who migrated hither from
other islands, and from the continent; or that they have had dogs upon
their island, of which the race, by some accident, is become extinct;
or lastly, that they still have an intercourse with other islands where
these animals exist.

126 I remained on board all this day, to arrange the collection of
plants and birds which we had made upon our first excursion, and which
175 was far from despicable, considering the small size of the island. The
501 natives continued to crowd about our vessels in a number of canoes,
[48] whilst many were swimming to and from the shore, who were probably not
rich enough to possess a canoe. These embarkations were of different

[471 cont.]

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000
and Le Maire's circumstantial narratives, the natives of Horne Island were as submissive to their king as those of Tonga-Tabboo. The experience of the superior power of the strangers, made them respectful even to servility towards the Dutch; their king prostrated himself before a Dutch purser and their chiefs placed their necks under his foot (28). These excessive marks of submission seem to border upon

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23. See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages in the Pacific Ocean, vol. II. p. 41.

meanness and cowardice; but we never had reason to suppose them

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tinctured with these vices. Their behaviour towards us was commonly accompanied with that freedom and boldness which the rectitude of intentions [472] inspires; and though really polite, was never unbecoming.

Here, however, as in all other societies of men, we found exceptions to the general character, and had reason to lament the behaviour of

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vicious individuals. Dr. Sparrman and myself having left the beach where the Latoo attracted the attention of all our people, entered the wood in pursuit of farther discoveries in our branch of science.

[124] The first discharge of my fowling-piece at a bird brought three natives towards us, with whom we entered into conversation, as far as our superficial knowledge of their tongue would permit. Soon after, Dr. Sparrman stepped aside into a thicket in search of a bayonet,

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which he had lost from the end of his musket. One of the natives, finding the temptation of the moment irresistible, grasped my fowling-piece, and struggled to wrest it from me. I called to my companion, and the two other natives ran away, unwilling to become accomplices in this attack. In the struggle our feet were entangled in a bush, and we both fell together; but the native, seeing he could not gain his point, and perhaps dreading the arrival of Dr. Sparrman, got up

175 [476 cont.]

433 The labour of the natives is therefore greater than that of the Tahitians, and
311 accounts for the regularity of the plantations, and the accurate
171 division of property. It is likewise to this source we must ascribe
423 it, that they have always set a higher value on their provisions
175 than on their tools, dresses, ornaments, and weapons, though
435 many of these must have cost them infinite time and application.

They very justly conceive the articles of food to be their principal

175 riches, of which the loss is absolutely not to be remedied. If we
142 observed their bodies more slender and their muscles harder than
461 those of the Tahitians, this seems to be the consequence of a

175 greater and more constant exertion of strength. Thus, perhaps, they
461 become industrious by force of habit, and when agriculture does not
433 occupy them, they are actuated to employ their vacant hours in the
fabrick of that variety of tools and instruments on which they

175 bestow so much time, patience, labour, and ingenuity. This industrious

181 turn has also led them, in the cultivation of all their arts, to so
[171] much greater perfection than the [477] Tahitians. By degrees they
have hit upon new inventions, and introduced an active spirit and

175 enlivening cheerfulness even into their amusements. Their happiness

181 of temper they preserve under a political constitution, which does
642 not appear to be very favourable to liberty; but we need not go so

far from home to wonder at such a phaenomenon, when one of the most
enslaved people in all Europe, are characterised as the merriest

[651] and most facetious of mankind. Still there may be more sincerity
in the cheerfulness of the natives of Tonga-Tabboo; for, exclusive
of great and almost servile submission, their king does not seem
to exact any thing from them, which by depriving them of the means

[477 cont.]

175 to satisfy the most indispensable wants of nature, could make
181 them miserable. Be this as it may, so much seems to be certain,
642 that their systems of politics and religion, from their similarity
651 with the Taheitian, as far as we could judge, must have had one
175 common origin, perhaps in the mother country, from whence both
171 these colonies issued. Single dissonant customs, and opinions
174 may have acceded to the primitive ideas, in proportion as various
175 accidents, or human caprices have given rise to them. The
174 affinity of their languages is still more decisive. The greatest
197 part of the necessaries of life, common to both groups of islands,
the parts of the body, in short the most obvious and universal
ideas, were expressed at the Society and Friendly Isles nearly
175 by the same words. [478] We did not find that sonorousness in the
197 Tonga-Tabboo dialect, which is prevalent in that of Taheitee,
194 because the inhabitants of the former have adopted the F, K, and S,
so that their language is more replete with consonants. This
harshness is compensated however by the frequent use of the liquid
letters, L, M, N; and of the softer vowels E and I, to which we
must add that kind of singing tone, which they generally retain
even in common conversation.---But it is time to return from this
digression.

175 We did not part from our friends till sun-set, promising to
123 return to them once more the next morning. Our ships were well
122 provided with bananas, yams, and coco-nuts; and, considering the
175 small size of the island, as well as our short stay, sixty or eighty
hogs, besides a vast number of large fowls, were a surprising
[312] acquisition. During our stay we had searched the country in vain

[167 cont.]

000 and their civilization little advanced, since they are savage, and
[171] go naked. Their island seems to be about three leagues long, and
[175] was called Savage Island. It is situated in 19° 1' S. and 169° 37' W.

Having reached the ship, the boats were hoisted in, and the next morning we continued our course to the westward. A large high-finned whale, which was seen near the ship, spouted up the water, and several birds and fish attended us as usual.

122 On the twenty-fourth [June 24, 1774] at night we lay to, as
[171] we expected to be very near A Namoka, or Rotterdam Island, one of the
[175] Friendly Isles discovered by Tasman in 1643. Breakers [168] were heard a head at two o'clock, and the land appeared at day-break.

122 We stood for it, and soon found it to consist of several low islands,
193 connected by a vast reef. Another great reef lay to the northward,
175 and we passed between them. At noon a canoe came off towards us,

609 though the nearest land was above a league distant. We discerned
175 two men in it, who stood on a long while, but at last, seeing that the

181 ship gained upon them, they put about and returned. We could not
175 help admiring the difference between this race, and the savages

whom we had so lately left, and agreed that the name Friendly was
122 very justly given to them. The wind slackened all the afternoon, and died away to a perfect calm during night. We approached so near one of the reefs by this means that we ran great risk of being wrecked; but a breeze springing up in the morning, we were out of danger in a short time.

The next morning [June 26] we sailed between reefs and small
193 islands, which made the water smooth. The islands had a little more
197 elevation than the common coral islands; they were covered with groves
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[168 cont.]

133 and tufts of trees, which gave them a most enchanting appearance.
 137 The houses were seen in great numbers among the trees on the beach,
 175 and the islands had an air of happiness and affluence. One of these
 361 little gardens rose at its east end into a white perpendicular cliff,
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 175 with something like horizontal strata. At our distance it looked
 189 like the bastion of a ruined fort, and being fringed [169] with
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 175 woods and palms, formed altogether a romantic view. Towards noon
 609 the wind slackened, and canoes put off from different islands to visit
 175 us, though they were above a league distant. Some of them worked so
 hard, that they were near us in less than an hour; and when they were
 about to musket-shot off, they began to call to us from time to time,
 still continuing to paddle towards us. Three persons were in the
 canoe, exactly like the natives of Ea-oo-we and Tonga-Tabboo, whom
 489 we had seen in October, 1773. When they were along side, a few beads
 175 and nails were presented to them, for which they immediately sent a
 1824 bunch of bananas, and some delicious shaddocks (citrus decumanus) on
 609
 175 the deck, besides a bunch of the red fruits of the palm-nut tree or
 172 pandang (athrodactylis) which is a sign of friendship. This being
 done, they sold us all the shaddocks and fruit which they had, and
 609 came on board. In the mean while the other canoes arrived, and acted
 175 without the least caution, as if we had been long acquainted. They
 103 taught us the names of all the islands in the neighbourhood, that
 175 with the high cliff they called Terrefetches; the other, which we
 admired so much for its beauty, Toncomea: both these lay to the east-
 ward of us. Mango-nooe (great) and Mango-eetee (little) were two
 islands to the west of us; and to the S.W. beyond them lay Namoka-
 nooe and Namoka-eetee; the first of which Tasman has called Rotterdam

[185 cont.]

501 tranverse platform of planks, in the midst of which they had erected
175 a hut, where they placed their goods, their arms, and utensils, and
where they passed great part of their time. There were likewise holes,
which gave admittance into the body of each canoe. Their masts were
stout poles which could be struck at pleasure, and their sails were
very large and triangular, but not very proper to sail by the wind.

[283] All their cordage was excellent, and they had also contrived a very
good ground tackle, consisting of a strong rope with large stones at
the end, by means of which they came to an anchor.

122 We went on shore again after dinner, as captain Cook proposed
126 leaving this island the next day. We passed through several fields
and wild shrubberies, and collected a number of valuable plants.

[429] We also made a purchase of several arms, such as clubs, and spears,
and of some utensils, viz. small stools, large wooden dishes and bowls,
in which the people prepare their victuals, and some earthen pots

719 which seemed to have been long in use. The great abundance of their
175 arms, does not agree with their good-nature and hospitable disposition,

● [181] unless they quarrel with their next neighbours, like the people of

[531] Tahitee and the Society Islands. But they seemed to have spent too
much time [186] in ornamenting their clubs, to have frequent occasion
to use them.

122 At day break the next morning [June 29] we unmoored and set sail,
standing towards the island of Tofooa, on which we had again observed
429 the volcano burning during night. A whole fleet of canoes followed us
175 several miles, trading with a variety of articles, particularly their
dresses, utensils, and ornaments. Some of them likewise brought fish
of different sorts, which we had found very well tasted.

[190 cont.]

101 and have the same social and mercantile disposition. All these then
115 might be added to the Friendly Islands. They are in general remarkably
well inhabited, particularly those which we visited. Tonga-Tabboo
is almost one continual garden, and Ea-oowe, Namoka, and the adjacent
islands, are some of the most fertile spots in the Pacific Ocean.

161 We shall therefore be extremely moderate in our calculation, if we
175 suppose the number of inhabitants in all these islands does not exceed
182 200,000 persons. Their healthy climate, and its excellent productions,
164 keep them free from those numerous diseases, to which we fall an easy
175 prey, and, according to their plain and simple notions, satisfy all
57 their wants. Their progress in the arts, beyond other nations in the
53 South Sea, and particularly their refinement in music, serve to pass
175 away their time agreeably, and give them taste to acknowledge and
discern the beauties of their own exquisite forms, from whence one

181 of the strongest ties of society is derived. Their general turn is
609 active and industrious, but their behaviour to strangers more polite
175 than cordial. Their peculiar propensity to trade seems to have sub-
149 stituted this insincere civility, in the room of real friendship, from
171 those interested and mercenary principles which commerce inspires. Both
175 [191] these characters are in direct opposition to those of the Tahitians,
181 who delight in an indolent life, and are too hearty in their affections
[57] to confine them to outward shew and specious appearances. However
there are many luxurious individuals (arreeys) at the Society Islands,
whose moral character appears to be somewhat depraved; whilst the people
of the Friendly Islands seem to be ignorant of vices, which can only
have arisen from a superior degree of opulence.

122 The canoes which accompanied us from Namoka returned at noon

565 The basic characteristic of Tongan society is the presence of
ranked strata with each stratum having an increasing amount of access
to social prestige and economic resources as one moves from the lower
to the higher strata. Membership in a stratum is ascribed by birth;
one is born as a commoner (tu'a), chief's assistant (matāpule), a chief
or noble ('eiki), or a king (tu'i). Individual movement between strata
is nearly impossible except that occasionally a commoner may be advanced
582 to the position of chief's assistant. If one marries outside his or
her social stratum, it does not alter his or her position. Such mar-
riages are discouraged, particularly if one of noble birth should wish
to marry someone of lower rank.

178 Tongan society is still very much a kinship-oriented society and
181 attitudes and behavior evident at much life crisis events as births,
first birthdays, circumcisions, marriages and deaths reflect the tradi-
tional orientation of Tongans. Traditional values and beliefs are also
reflected by reliance upon native medical practices and the continuance
of belief in ghosts, spirits, and spirit possessions.

75 The traditional exists side by side with the modern. For instance,
177 modern medical care is usually readily available and readily accepted;
178 traditional and modern medicine are conceived of as being complimentary
181 rather than contradictory. The Tongan concept of social interaction
seems to have been the most resilient aspect of their culture and two
centuries of contact with the Western world have changed it little.

597 aligned himself with six household heads within the village, two of
602 which held strong positions of leadership.

Summary

858 Children are highly valued resources that satisfy certain social
181 and psychological needs of Tongan adults. Those needs are, in turn,
related to Tongan concepts of adulthood, parenthood, and family. Adop-
858 tion is one process through which children, as resources, can be con-
181 trolled and redistributed. The adoption process, then, reveals a great
597 deal about parent-child relationships generally and about the importance
[593] of children to Tongan adults.

597 Adoption is primarily a transaction confined to principals who are
602 kinsmen. This strongly reflects the Tongan attitude that kinsmen con-
stitute a close, more trustworthy group than do non-kinsmen.

Adoption results in a shift in the adoptee's kinship network with-
out breaking ties established through biological parents. Consequently,
the adoptee finds himself with increased options for affiliation and
inheritance.

CHAPTER V

VILLAGE ECONOMICS AND MODES OF EXCHANGE

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Village economy in present-day Tonga is a composite of traditional forms of production, consumption, and exchange and Western modes of economic integration. The change from the traditional to the modern has proceeded slowly in an atmosphere of conservatism and pride in maintaining the traditional life style. Traditional attitudes and values tend to force disbursement of acquired cash into areas which bring about social prestige rather than capital formation. In this chapter I would like to describe village economy as it exists under this situation of change. I also will describe and discuss the various types of exchange utilized.

Cash Income

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The village economy is subsistence oriented and relies upon labor-intensive, swidden agriculture as the production base. All household heads rely to some extent on cultivation for meeting basic dietary requirements and usually combine with gardening some other subsistence pursuit to provide variation in their diet and to provide cash for other needs. Table 11 gives the dominant occupation for forty-two household heads in Puke. ^A

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Cash income is derived from several sources including the sale of copra, fresh coconuts, bananas and other produce, fish, and handicrafts.

^A (See p. 74--Analysis)

454 membership. Money-saving associations are found in all social and eco-
456 nomic categories but seem to be most popular among wage laborers. In the village of Puke there were only two money-saving associations operating during 1971. One was formed for the purpose of house building and had only two members; the other was formed to save money for Christmas and New Year expenses. Both follow the model of a savings club rather than a rotating credit association.. Virtually no individuals in the community save money on a long-term basis and none utilizes the banking facilities in Nuku'alofa.

The Subsistence Economy

463 As indicated in Table 11, ^A thirty of the household heads in Puke follow occupations which are subsistence oriented, i.e., gardening and fishing. The traditional roles of the cultivator and the fisherman are (554) still highly valued, and techniques have apparently changed little in (178) the post-contact period. The ideology inherent in the production and 181 consumption of certain foods, particularly yams and pigs, is parallel to, and integrated with, the ideology of class and kin.

Division of Labor

462 Work is divided primarily by the criterion of sex. Men do nearly all gardening and fishing; they also construct and repair houses and canoes, cook when an earth oven is used, and take care of livestock. The women wash, sew, cook for most daily meals, take care of children, weave mats and make tapa cloth (ngatu). They also collect reef foods,

^A (See p. 74--Analyst)

127 specific information, neither their methods nor purposes were, and
797 their descriptions are in no way to be equated with those descriptions
made by a trained ethnographer.

Some of the missionaries did make records for eventual publications and the purpose of the various manuscript accounts had to be considered while reading them for specific ethnographic information, as well as any biases of the missionaries due to their purposes for being in the archipelago. The Wesleyan missionaries were not sent to Tonga to describe and record aboriginal Tonga society for posterity but to change aboriginal Tongan religion and society. The missionaries did not set out to systematically record Tongan social and cultural behavior, but they did set out to systematically interact and influence Tongan social and cultural behavior.

127 The researcher must consider the type of distortions which might
be introduced into the missionary descriptions due to biases and
attempt to control for those biases. He hopes to control for the biases
by attempting to understand what it was that the missionaries were
doing in the archipelago and how they went about in doing it. The researcher must read all of the pertinent extant manuscript materials to get a wide range of descriptions of Tongan society by various missionaries at various points in time. He must consider the attitude of the
Wesleyans to the Tongans. One missionary wrote:

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797 I am much tempted to be displeased with the natives;
181 some of them are so unreasonable in their demands,
[461] if we want them to work. We are much teased for want
of servants. I cannot tell how it is that servants
are so difficult to be got. I am afraid there is

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[461]
much idleness, and a want of love among the people. They think themselves quite demeaned by living with a missionary as servants (Turner, Journal, September 11, 1839).

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Religious matters were all important to the missionaries and as such the Wesleyan accounts often provided detailed descriptions of aboriginal religious beliefs. These detailed Wesleyan descriptions may be compared with other similar missionary descriptions and the researcher may make inferences concerning the capabilities of the Wesleyan as re-

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corder as well as inferences about aboriginal religious beliefs. Cross wrote:

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[778]
The Tonga gods or the gods of the Tonguese are almost innumerable. They have made themselves gods of men, birds, beasts & fishes, of vegetables, wood & stone, whales teeth, &c (Cross, Letter, November 1831).

Another missionary wrote of the Tongans that they had "gods irrational and inanimate swell [ing] the number to an almost Grecian amount"

(Watkin, Journal, February 4, 1836). Another time he wrote that these gods included "a whales tooth" which was once "the object of worship"

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(ibid., August 23, 1834). The fact that the tooth of a whale could be viewed as a deity was reported by other Wesleyan missionaries:

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Today arrived Kelebi Fullagi from Haabai bringing us a letter from the brethren of a very pleasing nature. By this opportunity I received a Tonga god name Eiku-tubu, from the great Chief the Tamaha. This god is a whales tooth, wrapped in a fine mat which they call Tuoua (Thomas, Letter-Journal, entry of August 20, 1833).

...and had two gods presented to me, which were formerly of great note here, one of them was given to me by the Tamaha, and the other by another chief of high rank. Idol gods are a very scarce commodity here now, the Tamaha sent me one a short time ago which was called her grandfather, it is a small tooth of a whale (Tucker, Letter, February 13, 1836).

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311 Each man lived in his own garden, the allotments being separated by reed fences (Wood, 1945:81-19). After Tasman's visit, a period of 130 years elapsed before further European contact was made by Cook on his second voyage in 1773.

Cook also recorded that Tongatapu was extensively cultivated with "the houses being surrounded by perfumed flowers and set in the middle of food-gardens, the planting being systematic and in rows Good roads, arched over with trees, went in all directions. There were no villages."

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203 (Wood, 1945:18-19). The existence of dispersed and peaceful settlements is attested to by Tongan tradition which "speaks of a time when it was possible to communicate from one end of Tongatapu to the other by calling from one farm to another, a state of affairs described as fanogonongo tokoto (making a proclamation while reclining)" (Gifford, 1929:4-5).

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643 During this period of dispersed settlement, a strong line of high chiefs established their authority over Tongatapu, as well as the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups. This period of strong central authority began with the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, around 950 A.D. (based on geneological evidence). The line of high chiefs, starting with 'Aho'eitu and including three major lines of royalty (the Tui'i Tonga, Tu' Ha'atakalua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu lines), provided for a peaceful environment until the very end of the eighteenth century (Wood, 1945:5-18). According to Tasman, in 1643, "we saw with these people no weapons, so that all was peace

175 and friendship" (Sharp, 1968:56). When Cook arrived in
721 Tongatapu, although some weapons were observed, "the people
181 went about unarmed and seemed very peaceful" (Wood, 1945:19).

174 Tongans maintained a tradition, probably dating from
648 the time of first settlement, of voyaging to Fiji and Samoa
and possibly to the Tokelaus, Rotuma, and the Ellice Islands.
The Tongans were reputedly the main voyagers in the Fiji-
Tonga-Samoa area and maintained especially close ties with

174 the warlike Fijians to the east (Sharp, 1964:27-29). At
439 first these ties involved the bartering of Tongan goods,
such as whale's teeth, the tail of the sting ray (used for
pointing spears), tapa cloth, sail mats, and inlaid clubs
for Fijian goods, such as hardwood for building canoes, bowls,
pottery, red parakeet feathers (which were exchanged in Samoa
where they were used in decorating fine mats), and sandal-
wood (Thompson, 1940:29; Derrick, 1946:30 and Latukefu, 1967:

175 59-60). In the latter half of the nineteenth century, ^A how-
648 ever, Tongans began taking part in Fijian wars, helping cer-
721 tain chiefs who rewarded them with the superior Fijian canoes
and weapons. These latter visits had "most evil effects on
175 Tonga" and probably played a great part in bringing to a
721 close the long period of peace and provided the impetus for
669 the brief period of civil disorder or "Dark Ages" that was to
follow. (Wood, 1945:25).

Although an atmosphere of peace lasted through Cook's
last visit in 1777 and d'Entrecasteaux and Labillardiere's

A [Author undoubtedly means the eighteenth century--
Analyst.]

173 probably the first chief who refused to continue paying tribute to the king in Manu'a. He was said to be the son of a god, Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, who came down to earth along a great tree and cohabited with a Tongatapu woman. This, with other tales, indicates a race of Proto-Polynesians already living in Tongatapu when the line of sacred kings, the Tu'i Tonga, began about 950 A.D.⁽⁵⁾

173 The old tales of Tonga and Samoa agree in relating that Samoa was subject
648 to Tongan overlordship for many years, until about 1250 A.D., when the first Samoan chief named Malietoa received that complimentary title (meaning "Congratulations on your victory") from the 15th Tu'i Tonga, Talakaifaiki, whom the Samoan chief had vanquished and driven out of his land.

It is probable that, in the period of their domination over Samoa, the Tongans were overlords also of other groups in the Central Pacific, as tales from Rotuma, Uvea, Niue, and other islands to the north indicate. The Tongans' daring voyages and far-ranging conquests made them "The Vikings of the Pacific".

[18] They acquired a reputation for arrogance that has not left them in modern times.

173 Another distinction which ancient Tongans merited came from their skill in
349 building monuments which stand today in eastern districts of Tongatapu. These show the prowess of the kings who were able to command the labour of the great numbers required to erect the forty-nine large terraced tombs, the Langi, and the trilithon, the Ha'amonga.⁽⁶⁾

173 The stories narrated in the Tongans' poems revolved, naturally, around their
643 ancient kings. One of these described how, about the year 1470, the 24th Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonuafeikai, handed over direct rule of the country to his brother who then began a second line of rulers, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Indolence and probably also a fear of assassination induced the Tu'i Tonga to take this action. His father, Takalaua, 23rd Tu'i Tonga, had just been murdered. Henceforth the Tu'i Tonga was satisfied to receive tribute and first-fruits given him as a religious duty at his seat at Mu'a, in eastern Tongatapu. The position of Tu'i Tonga ceased in 1865 when it was abolished by George Tupou I, Tu'i Kanokupolu and Tonga's first constitutional ruler.

The first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungamotu'a, was a brother of the Tu'i Tonga, Kan'ulufonuafeikai, who had forgone the secular position. About the year 1610 the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua at that time, Mo'ungatonga, followed the same pattern of divesting himself of temporal power when he appointed his son, Ngata, to be responsible for ruling the people, with the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu. The mother of Ngata was a Samoan lady, hence the name Kanokupolu (= "substance" of [554] Upolu, a large island in Samoa). The last Tu'i Ha'atakalaua died in 1799. Although the title itself lapsed the descendants of this line have been given the chiefly name of Tungi, prominent in modern Tongan history.

The positions of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua were hereditary. The Tu'i Kanokupolu was elected by the leading chiefs who generally chose the eldest son of the previous king.

175 The third line, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, ruled Tonga in temporal affairs when
643 Europeans, beachcombers and missionaries, came. This ruler's seat was in Hihifo,
[269] the western district of Tongatapu. His authority was not always respected by some of the chiefs, especially the Ha'a (= tribe) Havea in the central district of Tongatapu; their intermittent rebellions caused the civil wars at the turn of the 18th-19th Centuries and continued in the opposition to George Tupou I that lasted until fighting finally ceased in 1852.

Tongans gave honour to women of high chiefly rank. The eldest daughter of the Tu'i Tonga was the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (= female) who received greater respect than even her father or brother. Her daughter was called the Tamaha (= Sacred Child) to whom even the Tu'i Tonga made obeisance. The first Tamaha was the daughter of a Fijian chief from Lakeba, in the Lau group, who married the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, in the early 17th Century; the last Tamaha died in 1852.⁽⁷⁾

Through careful inter-marriage the chiefs preserved physical and mental superiority over the commoners. Though the chiefs had unlimited power and were often oppressive they received from their people a loyalty that has remained a characteristic feature of Tongan society. Tongans were industrious to the extent that life in their fertile islands required and their service to the chiefs necessitated. They, however, were regarded as rather indolent in contrast with their neighbours in Fiji. The Tongans' pride was not only a relic of past domination over other island groups. They had abilities that marked them as an outstanding race. Ingenious, enterprising, self-reliant, they have been able to extricate themselves from difficulties that would daunt most Europeans.⁽⁸⁾

The most important of the early voyagers who visited Tonga, Tasman (1643) and Cook (1773-4-7), gave testimony to the Tongans' peaceful and prosperous state. They noted the gardens, carefully cultivated and surrounded with reed fences, and the trim tree-lined paths connecting plantations. The people did not live in villages and there was no sign of political unrest or dissension. It was boasted that proclamations could be shouted from one household to another and taken across the island of Tongatapu in a very short time.

Captain Cook's eulogies gave "The Friendly Islands" the attraction of a tropical paradise that aroused false expectations in the minds of many ship captains afterwards. Attacks on ships were due to a desire for the treasures suddenly brought into their remote islands rather than to any latent savagery in the Tongans' nature. Normally the people were friendly and hospitable, with genuine affection in their own domestic relationships and a prevailing gaiety and good humour. Their natural buoyancy of spirit was displaced only by fears of death or other impending disasters and, when faced with these, they had recourse to their religion.

Tongans sat lightly by their religion except in times of distress and danger.⁽⁹⁾ Then they brought offerings to the priests' houses, sitting outside and making supplication through the priests to the spirits in Pulotu, the paradise beyond the ocean; these spirits, it was believed, had power over life and death. There was no public worship. Music, of which Tongans were very fond, was not associated with religion. The fear in which the gods were held made music inappropriate. Tongans sang only in festival dances which gave the setting for their treasured lyrics, and in canoe journeys and working parties on shore.

Religion was bound up with the social system. Because the Tu'i Tonga was believed to be divinely descended the chiefs who were related to his line by marriage shared in the reverence accorded to him. So many chiefs were closely related to the Tu'i Tonga that a visitor like Cook was easily puzzled by the many who received quasi-royal honours. The chiefs received offerings for both religious and social reasons. Pulotu was reserved for them; commoners, it was held, had no souls and were not entitled to an after-life.

Tasman's visit was more important. After discovering Van Dieman's Land and New Zealand, he sighted 'Ata, the lonely southernmost island of the Tongan group, at the foot of the western volcanic chain. This occurred on 21 January 1643. The name Pylstaart was given to this island. Tasman visited 'Eua which he called Middelburg; Tongatapu, named Amsterdam; and Nomuka, in the southern part of the Ha'apai group, which he called Rotterdam. The news of the Dutchmen's firearms in the Niuas in 1616 had taught the people in the southern islands the necessity for caution and dissuaded them from any hostile acts. Tasman recorded that he saw no weapons. He also thought the Tongans had no religion because he did not see any temples. The people impressed him as friendly and willing to barter food. 177

The visits of Captain Cook were of considerable significance. Except for the Englishman, Wallis, who called at Niua Toputapu for one day, in 1767, no European had visited any of the Tongan islands for 130 years, that is, since Tasman.

Cook first visited Tonga on 2 October 1773. He spent five days at 'Eua and Tongatapu. His second visit was even briefer, when he called at Nomuka to obtain fresh water on 26 June 1774. The third visit was prolonged and closely-reported; it lasted from 30 April to 17 July 1777. At Nomuka and afterwards at Lifuka, the main island of the Ha'apai group, Cook was entertained by Finau 'Ulukalala, who pretended to be the highest chief in Tonga. The name "Friendly Island" was given by Cook to Lifuka because of the overflowing hospitality he received there.⁽¹²⁾ The name was later applied to Tonga as a whole.

It was ironical that, at the original "Friendly Island", Cook narrowly escaped an organized attack upon his two ships and their crews. The treacherous Finau 'Ulukalala had made a plot which fell through only because of a disagreement among the chiefs about the time for the attack. It was from William Mariner, who was told about the plot by the Tongans thirty years later, that Cook's escape became known.

Cook's flattering opinion of the Tongans supported his belief that they were indeed "Friendly Islanders":— 175
181

"Their countenances very remarkably express the abundant mildness, or good nature, which they possess, and are entirely free from that savage keenness which marks nations in a barbarous state. They are frank, cheerful, and good-humoured . . . Their peaceable disposition is sufficiently evinced from the friendly reception all strangers have met with who have visited them. Instead of offering to attack them openly or clandestinely, as has been the case with most of the inhabitants of these seas, they have never appeared in the smallest degree hostile . . . Upon the whole, they seem possessed of many of the most excellent qualities that adorn the human mind — such as industry, ingenuity, perseverance, affability, and perhaps other virtues which our short stay with them might prevent our observing. The only defect sullyng their character that we know of, is a propensity to thieving."⁽¹²⁾

The Tongans knew how to dissemble as well as how to make favourable impressions, particularly through their greatest ceremonial which Cook witnessed — the presentation of the tribute to the Tu'i Tonga, at the lagoon at Tongatapu, near Alaki, a place now marked by a commemorative plaque in Cook's honour. They also entertained the visitors with massed exhibitions of Tongan dancing. Of one of the many exhibitions at Lifuka and Tongatapu, a dance given by three rows of men with 105 in each, Cook wrote — 177

"Such a performance would have met with universal applause on a European theatre.

[1801-1824]

Chapter III.

"A NATION OF WRECKERS"

Far from being a nation of friendly islanders, the Tongans of this period had become "a nation of wreckers".⁽¹⁾ The tools and other treasures from the outside world which the Tongans stole from strangers on their shores only whetted their appetites for ships and their contents, including the guns which would give victory in the Civil War. Tonga soon gained a new and evil reputation for cunning attacks on vessels, such as the following:—

Duke of Portland, a Boston whaler, which called at Tongatapu in June 1802. A white man helped the Tongans to attack the ship after the usual professions of friendship had been given by a chief. Many of the crew were killed and their bodies thrown overboard. A woman, Elizabeth Morey, was taken to be the servant of the chief's wife. After the cargo had been taken ashore the four remaining crewmen surprisingly drove off the natives, killed the treacherous white man, and took the ship out to sea.

Union, another American ship, which reached Tongatapu on 30 September 1804. Again Tongans swarmed over the ship but were ordered off. In one of the canoes surrounding the ship was the white woman, Elizabeth Morey, who made signs to the crew not to accept an invitation to go ashore. She then swam to the ship under cover of the sailors' muskets. Those sailors who had gone ashore were murdered and eaten.

Port-au-Prince, in 1806, with 26 of its crew killed and 34 spared to work the captured guns.

Mercury, 1809, which would have been captured but for the warning given by an Englishman who had been on *Port-au-Prince* and was still living in Tonga.

Supply, at 'Eua in 1822, attacked after a boat had gone ashore to get water. Three of the ship's company and several Tongans were killed in the fight on board.

Elizabeth, at Vava'u in 1823, which escaped after an attack led by an Englishman who had been on *Port-au-Prince*; four of the crew were killed.

In some instances sailors were guilty of shameful acts against the people on shore. Reprisals could then be expected against the next ship that called. *Rambler*, at Vava'u in 1824, was one that suffered because of the misconduct of a previous vessel; its captain was among those killed. Other ships would have been attacked but for the watchfulness of their captains.

The attack on *Port-au-Prince* was the most famous incident, not only because of the effect of the guns that Finau 'Ulukalala used afterwards, but because of the classic account of Tonga given by William Mariner, who lived with his captors for four years.

Port-au-Prince, English whaling ship and privateer, 466 tons, with 28 guns, had despoiled Spanish shipping and towns along the western coast of South

50

aroused as his own voice rose and there were audible and emphatic responses from the people. Once, when another local preacher declared, "The Gospel saved me. Did it save anyone else here?" the king instantly jumped to his feet and called out, "Glory to God, it saved me" — an indication of how demonstrative he was in avowing his faith in these early days. 797 643 794

The wife whom Tausa'ahau chose from those he had kept in a polygamous state was Lupe Pau'u, the bride he had taken from Lauflitonga who was now the Tu'i Tonga. Afterwards she took the name Salote when she was baptized on 27 September 1834 by James Watkin.⁽¹³⁾ The name Salote was taken from Queen Charlotte, the consort of George III. Not only did the wife and a daughter of Tausa'ahau take this name but also the illustrious great-great-grand-daughter of Tausa'ahau, Queen Salote Tupou III (1900-65). The marriage of George and Charlotte according to Christian rites did not take place until 1834.⁽¹⁴⁾ 797 644 795 551 [585]

After nearly two years in Ha'apai Thomas returned to Nuku'alofa to become Chairman of the District following the departure of Nathaniel Turner. He had now gained confidence through his success in Ha'apai. There was a ringing note of hope in his reports:— 797

"We have good reason to believe that Tonga will be a key to very many islands in these seas. The Tongan people have been famous in the sight of the islands of these seas for ages past."⁽¹⁵⁾

The new missionaries, James Watkin and Peter Turner, continued to supervise the mass evangelization of the Ha'apai group, according to the model of their predecessor. Peter Turner in his Journal referred to the school at Lifuka beginning daily at 6 a.m. He described the baptisms, with sometimes as many as 100 received at one service. He noted the Tongans' fastidiousness about their appearance as seen in the care taken with special clothing for the baptismal service, the variety of patterns in the native cloth (*ngatu*), and the neat plaiting of the mats worn around the waist. Then he added, "What joy beamed on the faces of the persons baptized."⁽¹⁶⁾ 795 [181] [291]

An unusual incident occurred at 'Uiha in June 1832. The schooner *Snapper* came to the group for trading. First it called at Lifuka where the owner, Robson, was given hospitality by the missionaries, Watkin and Turner, although he was very critical of missions. The crew of *Snapper* tried to entice women aboard and were annoyed with the missionaries when they failed. The vessel then went to 'Uiha, the only island in Ha'apai that had not then accepted Christianity; Tausa'ahau warned the captain not to go to 'Uiha but the owner said it would be easier to have trading dealings with the non-Christians there. A quarrel broke out when the owner endeavoured to procure a large pot used by whalers. The 'Uiha people had obtained it from a ship wrecked near Tongatapu about fifteen years before. While the argument about this deal was proceeding the chief Malupo was induced to go on board the *Snapper*. There he was bound, in order to force the people to come to terms and secure his release. The vessel threatened to sail off with the chief unless the pot was brought but it remained at anchor a short distance from the shore to do more trading. (It was noted afterwards by the Christian converts at Lifuka that all this was happening on the Sabbath!) The islanders attacked the crew when they were off their guard, killed the captain and two others, and released their chief. They then brought the ship nearer shore and began to plunder its cargo; the clothes of the owner and crew were taken from them. When news of this affray reached Lifuka, Tausa'ahau set out with a 177 439 609

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[1839-1840]

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refused offers of peace. The assault on Nuku'alofa on a Sabbath in January 1837 was led by Lualala, the rebel chief from Vava'u; when Dillon had met Lualala in Lakeba, Fiji, he had promised to supply him with arms. Cargill also said that the supporters of Aleamotu'a had made Taufa'ahau their commander as Aleamotu'a was too old to lead them. He emphatically repudiated Dillon's charge that Taufa'ahau was a "satanic-like monster" and also declared that his former chairman, John Thomas, was in character the mildest of men. 177 797 669 798

After this it seems that no further reference was made to the tragedies of the 1837 war. The truce that was made that year was an uneasy one, but better feeling, on the whole, prevailed for nearly two years. On 14 May 1839, Taufa'ahau's only daughter, Salote, was married to a Christian chief, the Tu'i Pelehake, who had been in Fiji. All parties met amicably at Nuku'alofa for the wedding celebrations. The missionaries who officiated, Rabone and Tucker, recorded that the *Te Deum* was sung at the service in the chapel on Zion Hill. 728 643 585

The regular work of the Mission proceeded in spite of the confusion in the islands. At the District Meeting on 10 August 1839, Tongatapu reported a membership of 1,208 (a substantial increase), Ha'apai 2,890, Vava'u 4,268. This meeting of 1839 was mortified by the loss of Samoa as a Wesleyan mission field, but it recommended as new fields the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Uvea, Futuna, Niue, and Rotuma (it had first recommended Rotuma in 1835). There was no lack of optimism with such a list! (80) 797 794

The disputes that continued in Tongatapu were complicated by factors neither political nor religious. This was particularly the case in Hihifo. Rabone, who left the Hihifo mission-house late in 1839 to live alongside Tucker in Nuku'alofa, wrote in December 1839:

"At Hihifo heathen and Christians cannot agree. We do what we can to keep the Christians right but it is very difficult, inasmuch as their quarrels are principally of a family character." (81)

Rabone's journal of 22 January 1840 also showed the difficulty that the missionaries found in trying to restrain the war-like feelings of their own people who were nominal Christians of only a few years' standing:

"It seems one of the most difficult things imaginable is to restrain these semi-savages from war when once commenced, in fact it would appear that many of them actually delight in these scenes of bloodshed; we talk, we write, we promise, we threaten, but the old disposition of the people breaks through all." (82) 181

On 14 January 1840 Ata's followers left the Hihifo fortress and murdered four unsuspecting Christians working in their gardens. Aleamotu'a was visiting Hihifo at that time, trying to effect a complete reconciliation. It was regarded as unprecedented that an attack should take place while the king was making such a visit. A party of eighty men was sent from Nuku'alofa to bring the old king back safely. About the same time Ata besieged Fo'ui, the fort which the Christian minority in the district had built for their protection. (83) 669 798

As in 1837, Aleamotu'a sent a hurried message to Taufa'ahau seeking his help. He also gave Taufa'ahau a site in Nuku'alofa for his own fort; henceforth there were two forts for the two kings. Rabone recorded his fear that 643 669 798

"the awfully sickening scenes of 1837 will in all probability be again exhibited, but we are for peace, O Lord, and we beseech Thee to give peace in our time." (84) 112

[1834-1850]

At Mu'a, Fatu, Lawry's old friend, remained obdurate. In 1842, when he was dying, he was visited by Thomas and other missionaries. Before he died, a relative was strangled to appease the gods. The first youth selected ran away. The next was a boy, about twelve years old, who was strangled with a cord held by his father and other men. Tungi, Fatu's son and successor, considered giving up his old religion and, during his uncertainty, both the heathen party and Roman Catholic priests (who had been in Tongatapu since 1842) tried to persuade him against the step which he finally took in 1850. During the previous year he permitted a Wesleyan missionary to reside at Mu'a. When he was converted about 200 of his people immediately followed him. Tungi's gods were given to Lawry who was visiting Tonga at the time. The old mission-house Lawry had occupied in 1822-3 had stood on the site of the chapel where Tungi publicly accepted Christianity. His decision had a marked effect in Hahake, the eastern section of Tongatapu. 797
[782]

Throughout these years nothing troubled the missionaries in all parts of the group more than evidences of instability. Perhaps they had expected too much too soon. Outward success in the northern islands had come almost too easily. It would be difficult to find another country in the 19th Century where thousands of converts were swept into a missionary church as quickly as in Tonga in the 1830's. Under these circumstances superficiality and a waning of enthusiasm were to be expected.

The missionaries must have realized that emotional revivals suited the Tongan temperament and that some conversions would be short-lived. Yet they tended to be over-confident when such revivals took place and some of them expected a repetition. Peter Turner and his contemporaries showed this in 1834 and 1846 in Vava'u. George Daniel was gladdened when, again in Vava'u, there was an emotional revival in 1855. Although much good came from these experiences some of the missionaries realized the lack of depth and of consistency with many of the people. Rabone's Journal showed the apprehension with which he heard of the "wild fire" in Vava'u in 1846.⁽⁴⁾ Thomas Adams, a little later, showed a keener perception of the situation than other missionaries did, when he wrote: [181]

"These people are very excitable and very ignorant and consequently very unstable, and much of the good has passed away." [181]

Even John Thomas wrote of "the instability which is characteristic of the Tonguese which is like the morning cloud and the early dew which soon passeth away". [181]

Clearly, systematic teaching and supervision were needed to prevent lapses into former immoral habits and to build up the converts in their faith. The critical mistake had occurred after the mass movement in 1834 when the work should have been consolidated, and when Cross, Cargill, and, a little later, Dr. Lyth, were sent to Fiji, and Peter Turner to Samoa, in all cases with the cream of the Tongan converts as teachers for the new fields which benefited at Tonga's expense.

The opportunities given by the restoration of peace in 1840 demanded more missionaries, and these of the highest intellectual and spiritual gifts. Unfortunately, there was an unevenness in the quality of the men serving in this period. The staff in Tonga suffered by comparison with men of the calibre of Hunt, Lyth, Thomas Williams, Hazlewood and Calvert in Fiji, men conspicuous in intellectual vigour as well as courage and enterprise. Naturally, there were exceptions. Tonga had talented men in Stephen Rabone and, later, Thomas West, Richard Amos and Thomas Adams, but they were not always given sufficient opportunities by their

[1862 - 1865]

123

Eggleston also reproved Davis for making the rule about *tukuofa*. He wrote 797
to Davis (7 July 1863):

"Rabone does not seem to view the case as you do with reference to the usage or law of the district. . . . He said that when George's first child died the people were anxious to show their love, that George discouraged it but many made presents. He said that discipline was not exercised over it and he would not think of taking such a step. He said the thing should be discountenanced but that he should consider it not right to deal with it judicially. . . . It is illegal; no district can make laws for itself. Any regulation it wishes to be binding on individual members must be sent to the Conference and be enacted before it can have the force of law." (82)

When Thomas Adams in England heard of these occurrences he disagreed with what had been done in Tonga:

"I think nothing but sin should cause expulsion from society [= membership]. We may become too fastidious and overbearing." (84)

Another missionary, John Whewell, reported to Eggleston on 27 October 643
1863 that the king and queen were meeting as class-members again (83), but the 797
stern action of Davis and his colleagues was not easily forgotten.

The missionaries looked with suspicion upon the new order which the king was establishing, and especially the Code of 1862. Their forebodings were not shared by Eggleston who wrote to the Chairman, Davis,

"King George cannot live for ever, and he is evidently preparing his powerful mind for a form and institution of government that will prevent anarchy when he is removed. . . . My fear is that, if the king is estranged from the missionaries and is shut out from their counsels, the style of government will be less perfect than if he had the advantage of their advice." (86)

The missionaries believed that the granting of "emancipation" in 1862 was 797
leading to abuses. They had relied overmuch on the sanctions of the civil government to enforce moral standards, and now they feared what would follow the removal of some of the legal restraints. The implications of the concept of "freedom" in the people's minds troubled them. George Lee wrote to Eggleston, on 16 May 1862:

"Many of the bad characters are in hopes of such a change in the constitution of the islands government as will leave them free to act as their depraved natures suggest unpunished, uncensured by those in power, and unrestrained."

The Tongatapu Circuit Report in 1863 gave this review of the situation: 797

"The transition state through which the islands have lately been passing, effecting an entire revolution in things of a political character, putting into the hands of our chiefs wealth to which they have hitherto been strangers and releasing the people from a state of semi-barbarian servitude to one of almost unrestrained liberty — taking away safeguards which had hitherto been regarded as wholesome and beneficial — has in some instances had an injurious tendency by introducing our people into scenes of danger and temptation heretofore unanticipated and unknown." 181

The continued disquiet and concern of the missionaries can be seen in the Ha'apai Circuit Report in 1865:

"The circumstances surrounding the sudden introduction of liberty . . . are far from being favourable to the cultivation of the religious element . . . Hence the abounding licentiousness among the young, impatience felt towards everything that would restrain bad habits and lead to virtue. . . . Profligacy, theft, and bad conduct were never so prevalent as at the present time." (87)

All these reports reflected the difficulties of men who were labouring to build up a young Christian nation under swiftly changing social conditions.

[1866-1874]

129

In Moulton's view it was the only "University" Tongans were likely to know in the 19th Century and, therefore, University-type insignia were warranted. When Sir Arthur Gordon, Governor of Fiji, visited Tonga in 1878, while Moulton was in England on translation work, he was greeted at Tupou College by David Tonga, who had been the first pupil, first dux, and was acting headmaster during Moulton's absence. Gordon wrote, 797
873
874

"At Tupou College, the principal, a native elaborately got up in clerical and academical costume, mortar-board and all, received me." (40)

An honour-board system was a stimulus for the students. A series of these boards, from 1866 to the present, carefully treasured, had a great influence on the progress of Tupou College. At the Centenary the names of these men and women were read for hours to a hushed assembly of several thousands in the open air. In his later years Moulton instituted a system of post-graduate lessons, to foster continued keenness. Whatever criticisms may be made against the gowns &c., there is no doubt that Moulton instilled a love of learning in many of the Tongans, and he produced men of ability and marked spirituality who became outstanding leaders in Church and Government. Taken altogether, Moulton's work at Tupou College fully merited the praise and popularity he received.

It is not surprising that Moulton met disappointments also. All was not well with the morals of some students, and Baker was not alone in pointing this out. In 1873 Moulton's own report read:

"The number of backsliders is far greater than we anticipated; so far it has been chiefly amongst the Government students, and the licentiousness of the youths of rank is incorrigible. This is a circumstance that causes us the deepest concern and bodes ill for the future of Tonga." (47) [18]

Moulton found it necessary to expel such "incorrigible" students.

The king was most gratified with the progress of the College. In 1870 he gave a scholarship worth £200, tenable for two years. In 1873 the first organ in Tonga was installed at the College. It was, naturally, in the pre-secession days that the enrolment was larger, the interest more intense, and the atmosphere free from the feuding that followed the foundation of a rival college in 1882 and a rival Church in 1885. [643]

Lorimer Fison, M.A. (Cambridge), Wesleyan missionary from Fiji, visited Tonga in November 1874 and brought a pre-conceived disbelief in the suitability of a "College" transplanted into the Central Pacific. Writing to *Sydney Morning Herald*, on 21 June 1875, he described his inspection of Moulton's classes. He acknowledged his prejudice; he stated that he had heard that the curriculum made students conceited but he concluded that this happened only with the less worthy lads. He tested (of course, through translation) the work done in mathematics, geography &c., and noted that the College possessed a telescope and meteorological equipment. He was amazed when Moulton's college choir sang Handel's "Dettingen Te Deum" and Mozart's "Gloria". Altogether, Fison not only withdrew his disbelief but added that Moulton's genius should have "a wider and more important field" than Tonga. He was justified in this opinion of a brilliant man who remained in this small field, heading for ignominious quarrels and crushing defeats.

Whenever Baker visited Australia he praised Moulton's work at Tupou College, as H. C. Oldmeadow heard him do while he was on furlough. (48) The College was held up before Australian audiences as crowning evidence of progress

[1877-1880]

131

by the District Meeting to Sydney for one year's experience, especially in English. 797
Moulton, writing to Chapman, on 3 May 1877, on the eve of his departure, said: 873

"If left to itself the College should stand and prosper under the headmastership of David. 874
Alas, that IF!" (35) (34)

There seems truth in Baker's charge that Moulton was forming a College party within the Church.⁽³⁷⁾ Moulton was in fact creating an intellectual elite. 571
This was dangerous in a country where families quarrelled so readily; there now 187
arose an elitist quarrel which could, and did, lead finally to a religious division 184
which split Tonga asunder. This was in addition to the ambition, jealousy and
factiousness within the Mission staff. The evidence points to an element of defiance
on Moulton's part which a man less bellicose than Baker would not readily
overlook.

Footnotes

- (1) W.P.H.C. Inward Correspondence, general, No. 287 of 1891; Scarr, D., *Fragments of* 113
Empire, p.4.
(2) *M.N.*, 1854, p.754.
(3) Pritchard, W. T., *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p.233; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.143.
(4) Eggleston to Davis, 20 September 1863. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.
(5) Pritchard, *ibid.*, p.289; Derrick, *ibid.*, p.151.
(6) Davis to Eggleston, 10 June 1862. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(7) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Item 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(8) Thomas, *ibid.* Item 46.
(9) I am indebted to the Rev. E. W. Hames, Auckland, for the correspondence between Lawry
and the Secretaries in London; see also Hames, E. W., *Walter Lawry and the Wesleyan*
Mission in the South Seas, pp.35-6.
(10) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Microfilm 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(11) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 1849. B.668. M.L.S.
(12) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 22 July 1847. Set 47. M.O.M.C.
(13) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(14) Thomas, *ibid.*
(15) Thomas, *ibid.*, 19 November 1849.
(16) Thomas, *ibid.* Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(17) Thomas, *ibid.* Microfilm 46.
(18) Thomas, *ibid.* Microfilm 46.
(19) Thomas, *ibid.* Microfilm 45.
(20) Thomas, *ibid.*, May 1877. M.L.S.
(21) Stephenson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(22) "Free Church" was the popular name for the Church set up in 1885 with the official title,
"The Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga". In this history the short name, "Free Church", is 795
used in references to it before 1924. The full legal name is used after re-union in 1924.
(23) Thomson, Basil, *Diversions of a Prime Minister*, p.222.
(24) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, pp.135-47, for advice given by Charles St.
Julian.
(25) Davis to Chapman. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(26) Eggleston, J., *Journal*, September 1862.
(27) Pirih, F. to Eggleston, 21 February and 24 March 1862. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(28) Thomas, *Journal*. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(29) Stephenson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(30) Davis to Eggleston, 27 April 1863. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(31) Eggleston to Davis. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(32) Eggleston to Davis. Item 33. M.O.M.C.
(33) Eggleston to Davis, 7 July 1863.
(34) Adams to Rabone, 16 June 1863. Uncat. set 197. Item 2. M.O.M.C.
(35) Whewell to Eggleston. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(36) Eggleston to Davis, 20 September 1862. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.
(37) *Reports*. F.W.C.
(38) Amos to Eggleston, 27 February 1857. Item 170, Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.; *M.N.*, 1857.
(39) Adams to Eggleston, 8 February 1859. Item 170, Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.
(40) Baker to Eggleston. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.

[1855 - 1875]

153

which included the building of five memorial churches and a new College Hall. Of £14,759, the total amount raised in 1875, £6,124 was for the Jubilee Fund and £3,490 for the Home Mission Fund.⁽¹⁴⁾ The Jubilee Fund was expected also to build a new "Ladies' College" which, the king asked, should be called "Queen Charlotte's College" (in honour of his wife); he headed the list for this purpose with £1,000.⁽¹⁵⁾ Baker said:

"The Ladies' College will be the finest and largest building in Tonga or, in fact, in the South Seas, when it is finished." (He hoped this would be in December 1878; actually, it was never finished.)⁽²⁰⁾

The accusation that the Tongans were filling the coffers of the Australian Church was palpably false. Nevertheless, the great increase in sums sent overseas cannot be excused nor, still less, the unworthy methods used by Baker to induce the people to give beyond their means.

King George had determined to raise contributions after he had travelled to Sydney in 1853. The Wesleyan Conference in 1855 (the first after separation from Britain that year), resolved —

"Conference records its great satisfaction at the successful efforts made by the people in Tonga, through King George . . . to meet the entire expenditure of the Mission by large and regular supplies of oil and trusts that this noble example, the first, we believe, on record in missionary times, will be speedily followed by other Missions placed in similar circumstances."⁽²¹⁾

The financial statements for 1855 showed estimated revenue from Tonga £1,100, estimated expenditure £1,386, expenses for the brig *John Wesley* used for Tonga and Fiji £1,000.⁽²²⁾ In 1866 estimated receipts from Tonga were £1,350, estimated expenditure £2,711.⁽²³⁾

As sums sent overseas increased some missionaries expressed concern. John Vercoe, in Ha'apai, may have exaggerated, but he wrote:

"That this little group" (= Ha'apai), "with some 4,000 people, should send away £1,000 per annum, whilst her chapels are mere sheds, and her native ministers and local preachers are in rags, is, I confess, a matter of which in the future we shall be ashamed."⁽²⁴⁾

When Baker became Chairman in 1869, he began a policy of stimulating more giving that brought him praise from the Missionary Committee, but criticisms from some of his colleagues; the amount raised in 1869 rose to £5,480, and this was very much exceeded in the next decade.

In 1871 the Earl of Pembroke and Dr. G. H. Kingsley visited the South Seas and made caustic criticisms of Wesleyan missionaries in general; their knowledge of Tonga came only from reading missionary reports as they did not include it in their itinerary. Their remarks reflected the contemporary scorn of Nonconformists shown by some lordly Englishmen, but there was justification for their strictures concerning the undesirable means Baker was using. Wesleyan missionary circles in Australia and Britain felt embarrassed by the publicity. The missionaries in Tonga, so said "The Earl and the Doctor", were "canting sharks"; the writers added,

"To those who know the generous excitable nature of the South Sea Islanders, this must be looked upon as sheer pillage."⁽²⁵⁾

The people's susceptibility to rivalry gave Baker ample opportunity for exploitation. Nothing was dearer to Tongan hearts than praise, nothing more precious than prestige. Few families were willing to be outdone by the gifts of others. Villages were easily pitted against each other. The challenges were made in

[1876-1890]

preparatory meetings with boasting of what would be given at the annual missionary meetings. The gifts were always announced publicly. Baker added a method of piecemeal continued giving, an elimination process for the honour and glory of the last survivors. Basil Thomson's descriptions of missionary collections in his day (1890), both Free Church and Wesleyan, were truthful, despite humorous exaggerations.⁽²⁰⁾ It was an open competition in a circus-like atmosphere, entirely out of keeping with a religious setting.

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In spite of the adverse publicity from "The Earl and the Doctor", the Missionary Committee reacted in a manner favourable to Baker and confirmed him in the chairmanship when he feared that it might have been given to his rival, Moulton. Baker had visited Sydney at that time (1873), and the Missionary Committee resolved that,

"Having heard the statements of the Rev. S. W. Baker relative to the unexampled financial and spiritual prosperity of the Mission in the Friendly Islands District, [it] records its thankfulness to God for His abundant blessing upon the missionaries and their work."⁽²¹⁾

Fortified with this eulogy, Baker repressed any desire to return to a ministry in Australia in 1873 and set out to raise ever larger sums. He developed a special technique for giving credit in advance. This became notorious, with the German firm of Godeffroy having a monopoly of the copra from the collections. Sometimes a representative of the firm stood at the church door to make these advance payments against the copra to be sold later. Many of the debts would have been unmanageable in any case, and when a hurricane or a drought occurred many people failed to meet their obligations to Godeffroy. Distress warrants were taken out in many cases. Moulton was most critical of these practices. So was George Minns, who bemoaned also the contrast between spiritual deadness and booming collections. To Chapman on 26 January 1874, Minns wrote:

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"Our success is represented by £ s d. The disparity between our finances and our spirituality is so great that I cannot find sufficient courage to address a letter to the 'Missionary Notices'. . . . The Missionary affair [= collections] is in a large measure the effect of excitement and will collapse . . . Let us wait a few years longer for there are great difficulties ahead."⁽²²⁾

Sir Charles Mitchell, High Commissioner, in his report to the British Parliament in 1887, criticized the Mission and stressed the king's resentment at the large sums going out of the country. Actually, some of the money was being banked in Sydney for the Tonga Jubilee Fund. Also, it was Baker himself who was responsible for this financial policy.

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Mr. E. L. Layard, appointed as British Consul for Fiji and Tonga, visited Nuku'alofa in February 1876, and he at once received an avalanche of complaints from European residents, many of them disreputable beachcombers, and some of them rivals of the German firm. Baker declared that some of those who signed a petition to Layard had been cured of venereal disease by him.⁽²³⁾ On the basis of these complaints, Layard made many charges to Sir Arthur Gordon, alleging that Baker was "a trader in disguise", "the virtual ruler of Tonga", using his power

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"not for the good of the natives but actually for his own aggrandizement and enrichment, and to the detriment and possible banishment of every white man except his own special party from the Islands".⁽²⁴⁾

Layard alleged that Baker was being well paid for his medical work. He added an absurd story about the people in the southernmost remote island of 'Aia

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[1878-1879]

Gordon's attitude had changed since discounting Layard's charges in 1876. 797
On the strength of what had happened since then and from his own observation when visiting Tonga in 1878, he was more ready to listen to Maudslay's allegations. About the general state of Tonga (including resentment against the sumptuary and other laws which were modified afterwards, in 1879), Gordon wrote:

"I neither asked questions nor sought complaints, but I left Tonga with the conviction . . . that I have seldom seen a population so deeply and profoundly disturbed or where there was cause to fear a sudden and lamentable uprising against a system the pressure of which was too heavy to be borne." (40)

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The inflated collections and the use of money advanced by the German firm formed Maudslay's main charge against Baker. Inordinately large sums had been taken from all parts of Tonga, even the remote island of Niua Fo'ou which could hardly expect to receive much in return. In Tongatapu distress warrants had been taken out by Godeffroy against the heaviest debtors, and this in spite of hurricanes in 1876 and 1877 sorely afflicting the people. These warrants greatly embarrassed Baker who had been absent in Auckland while houses and goods were being sold on court orders. He was so concerned about the people's plight that he took money from the 1876 Jubilee Fund lying in the bank in Sydney to pay some of these debts. (41)

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Maudslay thought he had collected enough evidence to enable the High Commissioner to exercise against Baker the power given by an ordinance to remove a British subject who was disturbing the peace of a community such as Tonga. Gordon, however, was not only uncertain of the wisdom of doing this but he did not want to incur the odium likely to follow. He preferred that the Church itself should remove Baker although he indicated that, if the Church did not, he would be obliged to remove him. (42)

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Baker felt the growing seriousness of his position and suggested to Chapman that it might be better for him to go to England or America where he "could do good service as a deputation for Missions" (13 July 1878). (43) Even if that was not his fixed intention, he certainly felt that he must leave Tonga. On 30 October 1878 he wrote to Chapman:

"May I ask you, after my Consul's case is over, to ask permission for me to return next Conference, 1880 . . . I hope you will excuse my putting it so strongly, but I must return in April 1880." (44)

Baker's colleagues in Tonga at that time, Watkin and Minns, believed that Maudslay was pushing his case against Baker too far. They also thought that the Church courts were the proper place for investigating the complaints. Although Minns had been very critical of Baker's conduct, he wrote to Chapman on 1 September 1878 about Maudslay's charges:

"This thing must be settled once and for all. . . . The reputation of the Church and prosperity of the Mission must stand before any consideration for Mr. Baker's comfort. . . . Mr. Baker never needed a friend more than now and, so far as I can, I will help him out of these difficulties. I am truly sorry for him." (45)

Even Moulton wrote to Baker (22 November 1878):

"I cannot describe how anxious I am that you should be fully acquitted of blame by your brethren after full and honest investigation. These persistent charges must be silenced." (46)

This statement may have come from a generous impulse but it is at variance with Moulton's messages at other times. Gordon was on leave in England at that time; Moulton was there on his translation work. Moulton wrote to Chapman, on 30 January 1879:

[1885]

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Wesleyan ministers were offered much higher salaries to induce them to join the Free Church, and some accepted the offers. The adhesion of one particularly was desired by the king. He was David Tonga, who had been Moulton's chief assistant at Tupou College. It was generally recognized that he had no superior in intellectual qualities and in leadership ability; and his integrity was impeccable. When he was asked by the king to defect to the new Church and be rewarded for so doing, he replied simply, "I would lose the very qualities Your Majesty admires in me if I were to turn to the Free Church for gain". 795 797

As to the nature and extent of the persecutions the evidence before the High Commissioner and Mr. Justice Clarke, Judicial Commissioner, in March 1887, was convincing, as also were their findings regarding Baker's involvement. There are hundreds of statements in the Church Office in Nuku'alofa with details of maltreatment and injustice suffered by Wesleyans during this period.

The chiefs held a compulsory assembly (*fono*) in one village after another and told the people that they must obey the king or take the consequences. There is no doubt that the majority of those who joined the Free Church did so, not because of the issues involved, but in obedience and loyalty to Tupou. Their obedience, in many cases, was due to the chiefs' intimidation. It was indeed a new thing in Tonga for anyone to resist the expressed will of the king. When the chiefs used their traditional authority to enforce his will, it became still more difficult for the Wesleyans to disobey. The alacrity with which the chiefs began flogging the people and interfering with their property showed what scant regard they gave to the 1875 Constitution's curb upon their arbitrary power as well as the Constitution's guarantee of freedom of worship for all. The brutal streak lurking in the pre-Christian Tongan temperament quickly reappeared. There were many cases of horsewhipping, even of women, at the chiefs' orders. Recalcitrant Wesleyans in Ha'apai were deported to uninhabited islands, Tofua, Kao, Tonumea. The worst instance was the dispatch of eighty to the high island of Kao where there was no food except sea-birds and shell-fish. These banishments were so outrageous that, later, the orders of deportation were revoked. [88] 797 795 798 798

After the funeral of Ngu in 'Uiha in March 1885, the king had stated publicly his intention of going to Nuku'alofa and had given the end of May as the time limit for all Tongatapu to join the Free Church. After then, he said, he would bring warriors from Vava'u and Ha'apai, and those who held out against his wishes would be hanged or banished. Similar threats were made by chiefs. Much of this talk could be discounted as typical Tongan bluster and empty threatening, but it boded ill for the Wesleyans. 643 797 795 798 688

The long-expected arrival of the king at Nuku'alofa occurred on 4 July; he came with a fleet of over sixty canoes and a body of 1,800 men, armed with rifles and axes. Soon afterwards a compulsory assembly was called for all Wesleyans in Tongatapu to be held in the royal compound. Even the sick had to be brought in carts, the order ran. A pre-dawn prayer meeting was held in Zion Church that morning. The prayers were highly emotional; and, when a new hymn of Moulton's, based on the 23rd Psalm, was sung, "the rush of feeling was overwhelming". The meeting was interrupted by the drum beating for the assembly. The people almost rushed down the hill from Zion and filled the king's compound. To his astonishment there were at least 2,500 Wesleyans, including his daughter, Salote, and other members of the king's family. The Wesleyans had been told to expect death and their emotions were geared to accept it. The king, evidently 644 797 795 798 644

534 longer exists in Tonga and no specimens have been located in museum collections.
[175] Were it not for the Cook descriptions, one might be tempted to explain any reference to them as the result of contact with Fiji, where they still exist.

535 A dance paddle was collected by Forster, but there are no descriptions of Tongan
412 dance in the second voyage accounts. The paddle is listed in the Tongan section
252 of the *Catalogue* as Number 81, 'a Spatule of wood to mix up their paste of bread-fruit with', but this need not be as incorrect as it sounds. Tongans did make bread-fruit paste and several breadfruit pounders were collected. If a utensil was necessary at a moment's notice it is not unlikely that a discarded dance paddle would be used. The Pitt Rivers Museum example had been broken and mended with coconut fibre and its shape would be a good one for mixing breadfruit paste. The dance in which the paddle is used (*me'etu'upaki*) was depicted and described in the third voyage accounts. A watercolour by Webber is now in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich,¹⁰ and in Cook's Journal there is a detailed description (Beaglehole 1967: 109). During Cook's time this was the type of formal dance performed on state occasions and in connection with the Tu'i Tonga's harvest ceremonies. Today this dance can only be performed by members of the village of the Tu'i Tonga. This recognises the still exalted status of the Tu'i Tonga line and those who descend from it, even though it is not the ruling line of today.¹¹

535 The second dance type described and depicted in Cook's third voyage accounts,
175 the *me'elaufola*, was during Cook's time the informal dance type. An engraving (plate 6a) shows how observant Webber was and how he has made an artistic convention useful to research. The women on either side of the musicians are shown with their arms in quite different positions. With a knowledge of Tongan dance one can easily discern that Webber has depicted the beginning and end of the most important arm movement in Tongan dance.¹² This convention was also used by Labillardière in his depiction of another Tongan dance (1802: following p. 167).

535 The *me'elaufola* no longer exists in Tonga, but it has evolved into the new formal
078 dance type of today, the *lakalaka*, which uses the same arm movement as that drawn by Webber. The *lakalaka* visually and poetically acknowledges the shift in societal power to the Ha'a Ngata. It is performed by all the adult members of a village, who, in effect, deliver a speech in unison dramatising their words with actions and thereby pay their allegiance to the established socio-political order of Tonga. The contemporary arrangement of dancers reflects such traditional Tongan values as sister outranking brother, resulting in brother-sister avoidance, while the placement of chiefs and *matāpule* lines represented in the village, as well as the achieved status of best dancer (*malie taha*), demonstrates how concepts of rank pervade all Tongan life in a manner as important today as it was in the eighteenth century.

121 We conclude, then, that written accounts, illustrations, and collections made
175 on the voyages of Captain Cook have contributed new insights into the material
127 culture and society of Tonga. Many ethnological collections have been almost totally ignored by social and cultural anthropologists for many years and the associated documentation has often been mislaid, and in some cases destroyed. It is occasionally possible, however, to identify and localise early specimens from illustrations and from the records of eighteenth-century museums and private collections, and this documentation has been crucial here in increasing our understanding of Tongan material culture. Further, the study of first hand accounts of

A. [See End Plate 6, following p. 220--Analyst]

EARLY 19th CENTURY MISSIONARIES IN TONGA

ABORIGINAL TONGA

Research on Polynesian ethnography, and more specifically, "things Tongan" since 1969, leads me to conclude that traditional Tongan society was based on kinship, and politics in Tonga was literally "kinship writ large". As Tongan society increased in size the number of leaders in society increased. Aboriginal Tongan society was divided into various *ha'a* 'corporate land-holding and property-sharing descent groups,' and every single Tongan was able to trace his or her *ha'a* affiliation for various obligatory reasons in the life cycle (such as marriages, funerals, and wars). 642
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When a Tongan chief dispatched an individual to look after a specific area of land, the individual sent was a kinsman. Consider the following from a Wesleyan missionary who resided in Tonga for over 25 years, from 1826 to 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859: 602
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It may be noticed that all the principal offices of the government, were filled by members of the Hau Family as *Governors of Islands* at a distance as well as those near at hand, *Chiefs of Districts*, and heads of Towns and villages, they were the relations and the professed friends of the King, whom they appeared to wish to live to serve, and to know.⁽⁸⁾

Another Wesleyan missionary, Peter Turner, provides corroborating evidence in a journal entry: "The King has sent his eldest son to be the head ruler here [at Vava'u] and may be called a king under him."⁽⁹⁾

The Tongan system of apportioning out relatives, with appropriate titles, to rule over certain portions of land unified the "mud and blood" of the *ha'a*.⁽¹⁰⁾

The first leader of all of the Tongans was the Tu'i Tonga 'sovereign of Tonga'. The Tu'i Tonga, as lineal descendant of the gods, was the embodiment of the sacred and secular in aboriginal Tongan life and the leader of all Tongans. In approximately the 15th century, a division was made between the sacred and secular operations of organising society, and a Tu'i Tonga delegated his secular responsibilities to a brother and the title of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was created. A manuscript account related how the Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua: "... appointed Maugamotu Tui Haatakalaua, and he was able to reside at Fonuamotu as he was to be protector of the Tuitongas (as the Tuitongas were apt to be assassinated), and the Tuitonga was safe because his younger brother kept guard over him."⁽¹¹⁾ 643
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In approximately the 17th century a Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua delegated some of his secular authority and responsibility to a son, and the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu was created. The individual known as Ngata became the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, and he received "royal estates at the West end of Tonga [tapu] called Hihifo."⁽¹²⁾ When Anderson, who was with Cook in 1777, visited Tongatapu he wrote of the fact that Tongatapu Island was "divided into many districts" and one of these was "Hee'heefo".⁽¹³⁾ When 634
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8. Thomas n.d. MS:5.

9. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for Aug. 24, 1851.

10. Silverman 1971:72.

11. Collocott n.d. vol. II:21.

12. Thomas n.d. MS.:1.

13. Beaglehole 1967:951.

[1777-1793]

plan was not carried out, however (Dumont d'Urville 1842, IV, p. 374; Farmer, p. 55; Thomson 1894, p. 315). Of course, one may wonder how this plan became known to later visitors. ^A

It has been proved that there were still contacts between Tonga and Samoa in this time, while the Fiji Islands were also included in these contacts (Cook 1803, IX, p. 307). The data give us a strong impression that this last group came within reach of the Tongans only shortly before this time.⁵ Various authors state that a loosening of the Tongan morals was due to these contacts with the Fiji Islanders. According to the anonymous "Geschichte der christlichen Missionen..." (p. 50 ff.) the Tongans greatly admired the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands. They followed their example as much as possible, which was noticeable especially from their increasing fighting spirit.⁶

Although the increasing coarsening of the Tongans may partly be ascribed to this, it would appear to us that other influences also played a part here. We may point to the white visitors, whose very presence disturbed the aboriginal pattern of life. The presents they so freely handed out, the use of firearms, the strife among the various leaders to appropriate for themselves the favour of the foreigners, all these are breaches in an existing order. Another thing we must point to is a struggle for power which had been smouldering below the surface for some time and came out into the open at this very time: the struggle between the representatives of the central authority and the rulers of the outer territories. This crisis was intensified further by the tensions between the various authorities on Tongatapu itself.

When Dentrecaesteaux and Labillardière visited the Tonga Islands in March 1793 everything was still seemingly quiet. What did strike them was the curious relation between the members of the Tubou family (the relatives of the *Tui Kanokupolu*) and the Fatafehi family (the relatives of the *Tui Tonga*). Labillardière (II, p. 170 ff.) describes, for instance, how a son of Paulaho (the later *Tui Tonga* Fuanunuiava) received presents from the Frenchmen and how a short time later a son of Tubou (Tukuaho, son of Mumui, the *Tui Kanokupolu*) appeared on the scene, took the presents from him and even searched the future

⁵ Several remarks in the literature point to the recent discovery of this group of islands: Cook 1803, IX, p. 308 ff.; Labillardière II, p. 165 ff.; Mariner, p. 276 ff., 333, 495, 511 ff.; Lockerby, p. xvi ff.; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 111, 206; Lawry 1850, p. 253 ff.

⁶ Sarah Farmer, p. 65, finds a great coarsening of the Tongans after 1792, but does not account for it. Thomson 1894, p. 313, thinks influence from Fiji the cause of the increasing licentiousness and bellicosity.

A. (It was William Mariner who found out about the plot to attack and rob Cook. See sources 2: Mariner and 3: Mariner, this file--Analyst)

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OU9 Tonga OU9

Out of 111 babies examined in one day recently only two had signs of scabies. Yaws seems to have vanished.

A main concern is to persuade Tongan mothers to keep up breast feeding and to teach them how to prepare supplementary foods for the weaning process; it is conjectured that the decrease in the mother's diet of healthy native foods in favour of inferior imported food, such as white bread, has weakened lactation.

For the outlying islands there are occasional visits by the Child Welfare Nurse as well as the services of the A.M.O.; Ha'apai and Vava'u each has a Tongan-trained nurse who reports to the Child Welfare Nurse.

Church The Pivot Of Village Life

The Church has done incalculable service in Tonga and still remains the pivot of village life.

With the inspiring leadership of the Queen, the Royal Family and the Chiefly administrators with their fine standards of propriety and dignity, the Kingdom of Tonga pursues its life of dedication to the welfare of its people, to the true husbandry of its land, and to the character training of its rising generation.

In this gay, trustworthy, generous and hospitable community one finds that harmony and gracious living so lacking in a world grown weary through selfishness, greedy ambition and disillusionment.

[P. 28-D]

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[161] is a constitutional monarchy under the protectorate of Great Britain. An appropriate treaty of friendship and protection was signed in May 1900. In 1905 a revisionary treaty was concluded, which was followed in the course of the years by various supplementary agreements. According to these agreements, Great Britain protects Tonga against outside attacks. A representative of Great Britain with the title of "agent and consul" /cited in English/ resides in Nuku'alofa. As a member of the British colonial administration he is responsible to the High Commissioner for the West Pacific. His duties and rights as an intermediary between the British and the Tongan government include: advising the Tongan government on foreign matters, control over finances, approving the appointment of Europeans to the service in the Tongan government, jurisdiction over British subjects and foreigners.

643 Apart from such restrictions, the administration of the Tonga Kingdom
645 rests in the hands of the Tongan government which consists of the
646 sovereign (at the present time Queen Salote Tupou, G.B.E.), the Council of State (Privy Council /cited in English/), the cabinet and the legislative assembly, parliament /cited in English/. The various
647 government posts are in general occupied by Tongans. A New Zealander
[645]
[563] holds the post of the finance minister. In the individual ministries white employees perform important work for the Tongan government; in general, they are more or less dependent on their Tonga superiors. (7)

7. Details about the functioning of this administrative apparatus in the chapter: "Governmental development and present structure" p. 157 ff.

563 At present, whites (altogether about 200) live on only three of the 36 inhabited Tonga Islands.

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177 In this investigation, therefore, we are dealing with a primitive people that has been under European influence for centuries and today still possesses relatively great freedom of self-determination.

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177 /15/ I. The Change in Tonga, as a Result of European Influence,

With Respect to:

1. The Tongans
2. Character

If we answer in the affirmative the question: "Is there /such a thing as/ a national character or a folk character?" in the sense that a larger group of human beings is distinguished by definite character traits which (with a definite "range of variation"), besides other varying fundamental traits, are common to most of the members, then the question may probably also be asked: "To what extent can such a national character change?", or, in this case: "Does the cultural change on the Tonga Islands have (or did it have) an essential influence on the typical character traits of the natives, and what results are recognizable currently?"

More than three hundred years ago began the invasion of the strange and astonishing European world in Tonga. First came the impressive, large sailboats of the friendly or brutal whites, with their canons and muskets and many Occidental marvels--from iron to cotton. Then the first Europeans settled down in the Archipelago--deserting, degenerate sailors and puritanical, proselytizing missionaries. There followed a dark period of civil war confusion with numerous, sometimes merciless open combat and underhanded massacres. Then a new state came into being, closely connected with the church; a European democratic constitution was adopted which was to grant freedom to the commoners and take away from the aristocracy many of the ancient privileges. A treaty was entered into with Great Britain; a revisionary agreement had to be signed. More and more European goods flowed into the country. The Tongans became acquainted with copra production and a cash economy, and definitely felt the fluctuations of the world market even as far as the smallest island.

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177 In Nuku'alofa and Neiafu the whites erected rather large buildings
181 which very nearly robbed the two localities of their village character.

A four-year world war cast its shadow on Tonga; the natives experienced the closing of German Business establishments. Later, paved streets on the two main islands /16/ were built, the first cars came to Tonga, radio stations were out in operation on three islands and operated partly by Tonga. Natives were trained to assist doctors and were soon operating on their countrymen in the European manner. The school system introduced at the very beginning of the mission period was improved. Another world war came which eventually threatened to draw Tonga into the area of operations. The Tongans saw how Japanese and people of German blood were interned. Americans and New Zealanders took over the protection of the Archipelago, war fleets sailed into the expanded harbor of Nuku'alofa, and an airport was built on Tongatapu. Thousands of white and black soldiers lived in the camps on Tongatapu, and 4700 Tonga received military training. And then, after the war and the periods of temporary scarcity, quantities of European goods again flowed into Tonga, the natives were soon paid fifteen times the pre-war price of copra, and anyone who had a desire for a cabinet style sewing machine or a bicycle, satisfied it, since money and goods found their way to the smallest and most remote Tongan island.

This great, all-powerful European invasion as such, along with the change in the life and culture of the natives resulting from it could certainly have had an influence on the "Tongan character."

It therefore seems noteworthy that, for the time being, there has been no psychic weakening of the natives. All the Tongans, that is, aristocrats as well as commoners, are proud, dignified, confident and self-assured in their manner, among themselves as well as in the presence of Europeans. In everyday life this native can generally not be induced, either by his countrymen or by Europeans, to engage in

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/16 cont./

177 work which in any way smacks of coercion. They work for others in
 18 order to be of help, out of friendship and love, or also, of course,
 (461) to earn a desired wage, but only if they "happen to feel like it."

In essence, the Tongan's self-assurance has by no means been touched though we must admit that he is full of deeply felt admiration, full of respect for the mind and education of Europeans and their way of life (even though he knows little about it). Many of the young intellectuals seriously try to understand and learn more about European ways. Yet in their way of life, their conversations among themselves, and their demeanor toward Europeans the Tongans of all levels show no depression or inferiority complexes. Rather, they are free, open, proud and self-assured in their manner, with an admixture of genuine, cheerful humor which, for example, always makes them ready /17/ to scoff and to laugh at presumed or genuine weaknesses of whites. Many an individual, despite due recognition of the superior knowledge and greater capability of Europeans, does not see in them a shining, pure ideal, but observes them keenly, and is ready for carefully considered criticism if whites, instead of conducting themselves in accordance with the admiration and esteem accorded them by the Tongans, set "bad examples" (i.e. drunkenness, undignified behavior toward Tongan girls, "worldly" behavior). (1)

- (184)
1. In the conduct of the natives toward Europeans there is, of course, a difference between the small, remote islands which are seldom visited by whites and seaports like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu. On the small islands the Tongans seem at first more reserved, some occasionally even shy, and English-speaking ones are afraid to talk to a stranger in English, whereas in the seaports the conduct of the Tongans seem freer and more self-assured as a result of frequent dealings with whites. However, the basic conduct may be said to be generally the same, particularly since, among the natives of

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the small islands, the strict observance of reserve imposed by the old customs must be taken into consideration.

[178] The "assured imperturbability" (2)

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2. G. Forster in: Geschichte der See-Reisen und Entdeckungen im Sudmeer /History of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas/. vol. V. Berlin 1780, p. 146.

unchanged since ancient times, and the great self-assurance (3)

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3. For example, Annales de la Propagation de la foi /Annals of the spread of the faith/. vol. XVIII. Lyon 1845. p. 440.

of the Tongans seem all the more remarkable since these native farmers in their villages do not see their European counterpart, but only the city white man who, as a generally more clever person, intelligent and tougher, and usually with enough money, finds his way to the islands. Thus the Tongans know little of the unhappy European who has failed in his professional and economic life; in general they know nothing about the ragged and hungry human beings of the European slums. Rather, they see largely a selection of intelligent and capable urban Europeans and from these they automatically generalize about Europeans. A Tongan who thus never compares himself with the European farmer in non-industrial areas, knows anything about the extensive specialization in the West. The natives living on the small islands, most of whom today are still able themselves to fulfill all the tasks more or less easily that come up in their communities, from planting and fishing to house building, believe that the European can easily fabricate a ship or a plane, a bicycle or a flashlight. These Tongans regard the European as much more capable and superior than he actually is, and yet they have retained their old self-assurance.

Various reasons may account for that. Above all the considerable

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177 strength of the natural Tongan self-assurance must be mentioned /18/
181 which (like the rest of their typical character traits) probably
829 grew out of blood characteristics, historical development, and the
life style of this people, and was nourished by their enduring,
generally peaceful, carefree life on the islands, even during the
European intrusion. (4)

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4. Even the civil-war-approximating confusion that ended in 1852 did not affect all the islands of the Archipelago to the same degree; aside from the high points of fighting, it was not very intense and was broken by rather long peaceful intervals.

177 Their self-assurance increased or sought strong support in the follow-
181 ing facts: The Tongans (with certain limitations) have kept their
186 own small kingdom, and their awareness of not being a colony fills
563 them with pride; the Whites living in Tonga, while observing a
565 certain distance, have not taken any racially discriminatory actions;
many Tongans, with their skin color brown in comparison with the dark-
skinned natives familiar to them in the Solomon Islands and in Fiji,
feel closer to Europeans and today largely reject the term "native"
for a Tongan; (5)

5. For example, the designation "Tongan medical practitioner" /cited in English/ was introduced in place of "native medical practitioner" /cited in English/.

to a certain extent, the commoners' progressive "liberation" from dependence on their chiefs during the past nine decades (6)

6. It is regarded as a matter of natural courtesy no longer to call commoners (tu'a) as such in their presence.

has contributed to this general assertion of self-assurance, as has the commoners opportunity of advancement in various professions (clergyman, teacher, physician, salaried employee) resulting from this development, and the growing opportunities [ranging] from acquiring

/18 cont./

European goods to the accumulation of material "wealth" (through copra production, trade); the dissemination of the Christian teaching of the equality of all men before God may have also buttressed the Tongans' self-assurance in the presence of Europeans. Among some of these natives the conviction that they will never be able to become "like the Europeans" may probably also have led them to cling to their ancient self-assurance, realizing as they did the values of their Tongan culture. (7)

7. Perhaps the attitude of the Crown Prince and Prime Minister Tungi should also be understood in this sense; along with all the intensive Europeanizing plans for his country, and after completion of his studies in Sydney, he again dresses in the Tongan vala (a cloth wrapped around the waist and reaching to above the knees, often down to the ankles) and the ta'o-vala (a fine, plaited mat slung over the upper part of the vala like a wide belt); he recommends this apparel (along with the customary European shirts) for all Tongan government employees, and likewise promotes other Tongan customs that seem important in his eyes.

Along with this strong self-assurance the Tongan has maintained a certain conservative attitude. The natives, though flexible and open to everything new, nonetheless cling very much, sometimes downright rigidly, to parts of their ancient life style and their tradition.

/19/ For example, in covering a house with sheet metal, they go to great trouble to build ancient Tongan round ends and reshape the metal accordingly. On the smaller islands at any rate, Tongans who own a bed, a table and a chair sleep on a mat, sit on the floor and eat with their fingers. Every Tongan can procure tea, coffee, cocoa, lemonade and so on, but the kawa drink is still in the center of all social gatherings and is consumed now at least as much as in the past.

The majority of Tongans are today just as goodnatured, happy,

/19 cont./

181 friendly and hospitable as were their ancestors (8)

[113]

*und nach
dem Nord-
pol hinauf

8. See John Reinhold Forster, Observations made during a voyage round the world /cited in English/. London 1778. p. 235; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. Berlin 1778. p. 359; J. Cook, Beschreibung einer Entdeckungsreise in das stille Meer /Description of an exploratory journey in the Pacific Ocean and up to the Northpole/ in Geschichte /History/ loc. cit. vol. VI. Berlin 1787. p. 277; J.T. Plant, Handbuch einer vollständigen Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte Polynesiens /Handbook of a complete geography and history of Polynesia/ vol. II. Leipzig and Gera 1799. p. 375; J. Martin., An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands /cited in English/ vol. I. London 1817. p. 70/71; idem., loc. cit. vol. II. London 1817. p. 166; S.S. Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands /cited in English/. London 1855. p. 150.

--aside from acts of considerable brutality in wartime. Life in the villages is always peaceful (9)

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9. Although, as a result of the "liberation" of the commoners and their living together in villages, there is sometimes a certain rivalry between individual inhabitants who are ambitious and strive for influence, yet their general quiet-peaceful disposition seldom lets such tensions become visible and break out into open conflict.

(the last murder in Tonga occurred about 25 years ago), and on the small islands every Tongan can even still ask every village inhabitant for something he happens to need--be it a yam tuber or a horse--and he gets it without a direct return service. Most Tongans are certainly not attached to material things, they can very easily give away and make presents and take pleasure in it. (10)

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10. This may even involve larger objects. For example, in 1951 a young Tongan on Nomuka asked a fellow-villager for permission to harvest coconuts on the latter's plantation. This was granted him, and his copra production

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/19 cont./

181 friendly and hospitable as were their ancestors (8)

(113)

*und nach
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8. See John Reinhold Forster, Observations made during a voyage round the world /cited in English/. London 1778. p. 235; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. Berlin 1778. p. 359; J. Cook, Beschreibung einer Entdeckungsreise in das stille Meer* /Description of an exploratory journey in the Pacific Ocean and up to the Northpole/ in Geschichte /History/ loc. cit. vol. VI. Berlin 1787. p. 277; J.T. Plant, Handbuch einer vollständigen Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte Polynesiens /Handbook of a complete geography and history of Polynesia/ vol. II. Leipzig and Gera 1799. p. 375; J. Martin., An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands /cited in English/ vol. I. London 1817. p. 70/71; idem., loc. cit. vol. II. London 1817. p. 166; S.S. Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands /cited in English/. London 1855. p. 150.

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brought him a profit of ~~2~~T 75 (about 700 German marks).

In the villages of the small Tonga Islands almost every group having a meal together will invite one or more passersby to eat with them; the guest is given the best, and at the larger festivals which, since the "democratization," have moved more within the commoners' realm (private persons, kautaha or cooperative labor pools, and churches as organizers), they usually do not economize in expenses.

European influence has been able to change but little their general good nature and hospitality, especially since life in the villages has remained easy and carefree. Yet the influx of money is to be observed. On the small islands there are relatively few natives who /20/ hand over to their fellow villagers the products of their plantations and other goods for money, (11)

11. Often they exchange value for value, for example a length of tapa for a pig. However, giving without direct quid pro quo, this old system of Tongan community life (a perpetual assurance of reciprocity) is still, on an island like Nomuka, more frequent than barter; it is practiced mostly in the Ha'apai group, less in Tongatapu and Vava'u, and seems rather suppressed in places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu.

and they are generally felt to be outsiders in the community. In places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, on the other hand, there are many of them and there, in the gradually urbanized settlements with European commercial enterprises, selling is taken for granted among the Tongans.

Yet business acumen is little developed among these natives. (12)

12. For example, Tongans who help the "medicine dispenser" on the plantations of Nomuka would rather accept a packet of tobacco than a seven shillings wage per day, though in the shops of the same island they have no

/20 cont./

181 trouble getting twice the amount of tobacco
434 for their money; in the Ha'apai group the
435 Tongans who start businesses on their island
"forget" the price of individual goods, which
are then often sold for considerably less than
on the main island.

181 Toward the European, too, the Tongan is good-natured, generous and
177 hospitable; however, among the natives who have many dealings with
439 Europeans there are a few who try to exploit and overcharge the
Whites--usually in an inept manner, to be sure. Yet it seems note-
worthy that the Tongans of the small islands, amid the flood of
money of the postwar period and in view of their great interest in
European goods, have not succumbed to copra- and money-fever. The
reasons for this are less self-discipline and will power than the
relatively small natural needs, as well as the basic Tongan trait of
imperturbable equanimity.

181 These natives have also kept their cheerfulness--apparently
undiminished. (13)

(113)

13. See also G. Forster, loc. cit. IV, p. 359;
Voyage de Dentrecasteaux. ed. by M. Rossel.
vol. I. Paris 1808, p. 308/309; Ch. Wilkes,
Narrative of the United States exploring
expedition /cited in English/. vol. III.
London 1845. p. 26; H.N. Moseley, Notes by
a naturalist /cited in English/. London 1879.
p. 287.

181 The majority of Tonga have a strong sense of humor. Naturally,
522 boys and girls are particularly cheerful and merry, even to the point
of boisterousness. The older ones, while observing a certain self-
control and restraint, are not much different, so that even in between
the lamentations of a cortege a cheerful comment accompanied by a
fleeting smile may be noted. Tongan humor often satisfies European
(831) demands, frequently it is rather simple and silly for the serious
White, and sometimes it leaves nothing to be desired in the way of

/20 cont./

181
(522)
(831) sexual explicitness. (14)

14. Cf. even J. Martin loc. cit. II. p. 177.

Lighthearted--and [capable of being] untroubled--that is the impression the observer has to this day, of the majority of Tongans.

181
576
178 /21/ Courtesy within the village community /15/

15. See also Farmer, loc. cit. p. 150.

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178 on the smaller islands has scarcely diminished. In a place like
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(369) Nuku'alofa, however, because of the larger number of people (about
5000 inhabitants) and the gradual urbanization (motor traffic, shops,
etc.) a certain measure of estrangement has taken place, though any
Tongan inhabitant can come uninvited to any other for a meal. Here

(887)
(174) one may notice that in general only the old people greet a European
passing by. A certain relaxation of good manners, especially among
181
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174 the young Tongans in the major towns, is largely attributed to the
685 influence of the foreign troops stationed on Tongatapu during the
last war, (16)

(673) 16. The negative influence of foreign troops
through money surplus, in part bad personal
examples and incitement to acts which were
unknown to the Tongans or seemed morally
intolerable (selling and usury where formerly
one gave and made presents, theft, i.e.
procuring something in devious ways, drinking
and methods of producing alcohol, prostitution).

particularly the presently rather frequent theft. (17)

17. At the time of foreign troops you could often
get many things effortlessly; some Tongans with
"freer" attitudes thus tend to obtain, likewise
"effortlessly," desired articles where a purchase
or at least a request is customary.

181
685 However, such property offences have by no means become widespread
even in a seaport like Nuku'alofa (18)

(485) 18. The only rooming house in Nuku'alofa has
unlocked rooms and closets!

/21 cont./

181 and can not be compared to conditions in Europe. The natives of the
685 small villages are mostly very honest, (19)

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19. During the author's stay on the islands and on numerous boat trips not a single article was stolen from his numerous and often open pieces of luggage; three coins that he was unaware of having lost on a boat trip were immediately returned to him. This behavior of the natives is in sharp contrast to the old sources (for example, J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 278/279; Voyage de Dentrecasteaux, loc. cit. p. 307/308; E.A.W. von Zimmermann, Australien ...nebst einer allgemeinen Darstellung des grossen Ozeans /Australia and a general description of the Pacific/ vol. I part 2. Hamburg 1810. p. 636) which emphasize the tendency of Tongans to steal from Europeans. In early times the powerful chiefs were probably a driving force in these offences, also sometimes offered the thieves protection, and the widespread lust for the new European articles was very great and not yet suppressed by the influence of mission and government authority.

181 though now and then there are complaints about thefts of pigs and
685 plantation thefts. As a rule, these are the only property offences in some places.

181 The sensuality characteristic of Polynesians (together with
831 rather free attitudes towards sexual questions) which early observers, sometimes with certain reservations, also attributed to the Tongans (20)

(113)

20. For example, in A. Montanus, De Nieuwen Onbekende Weereld /The new and unknown world/. Amsterdam 1671 p. 580; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 344.

is even today, despite 130 years of intensive and largely puritanical mission work, an essential characteristic of Tongan nature. (21)

21. For details see the chapter Liebesleben /Love life/ p. 106 ff.

/21 cont./

181 The presence of troops on Tongatapu for many years of course had an
199 adverse effect, and these influences fanned out from the main island
831 to the smaller islands. However, it must be said that even today
numerous marriages, at least on the /22/ part of the wife, are strictly
adhered to (22)

22. Mentioned already in Martin, loc. cit.
II. p. 167 ff.

and that they attach great importance, despite a certain freedom of
premarital relations, to the chastity of marriageable girls. (23)

23. See p. 106 ff.

181 Measured by a Central European standard the morality of the Tongan
597 women is higher than that of the Tahiti women. (24)
831

24. According to observations of the author
in Tonga and Tahiti.

181 Their special love of their country--together with a strong
823 feeling for the beauties of nature (25)--

25. For example, Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 301
ff., already mentions it.

has remained a noteworthy aspect of Tongan character, despite their
great interest in distant countries about which the islanders are now
learning, and despite the obvious fascination with the expanded Tongan
seaports. Their deeply rooted feeling for their native land is such
that, for example, many Tongans of the small islands in the Ha'apai
group, where the land is no longer adequate to feed the growing
population comfortably, prefer, despite many government recommendations, to
remain in their villages on their island, instead of going to the main
F333 island where they could obtain sufficient and good land. This love
of their native land is also reflected in the songs composed nowadays
by the Tongans, more than half of which extol their island landscapes.
The seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, despite their relative acces-
sability--numerous native cutters cross the Archipelago daily--and

/22 cont./

181 despite their large department stores, movies and colorful life and
823 bustle, do not have an irresistible attraction. The Tongans like to travel there, especially to shop, or for entertainment, to visit a relative or to attend a large festival. Still generally they soon return to their small island, lost in the ocean, and despite a certain wanderlust, there are also a number of Tongan men and women who never leave the island they were born on. "Flight from the country," a general "Rush toward the city" is not observable.

181 The Tongan with his kind nature is very emotional in matters of
152 human concern. This shows in his daily life, at arrivals and departures of relatives and friends, and especially in church where their empathy for the biblical passages discussed will bring tears to the eyes of most preachers and many of the faithful (men as well as women); such emotions can become so intense that the preacher's sobbing may make his words unintelligible. Yet /23/ there is also no dearth of examples of hardness and brutality. Some Tongans beat
(593) their wives badly, and gory brawls among young natives do occur. The
(598) public, however, does not regard these incidents as an ordinary state of affairs, but is quite aware that they are exceptions.

181 Animals, on the other hand, are outside the emotions of the Tongans
825 and, in the eyes of the natives, are not regarded as creatures with
(152) feelings of their own. They are usually subject to brutal, not merely harsh treatment, according to our ideas. Thirsty horses and cattle tethered in the bush are, as a rule, reluctantly led to watering places, (26)

26. On Nomuka in December 1951 a bull perished from "dehydration" when its owner "forgot" to water it.

and the starving, half-parched, degenerate dogs are usually hit with heavy objects or harshly stepped on if they timidly and meekly come

/23 cont./

181 near a group eating together. Children play catch with captured
(825) wild birds until the latter perish, while adults raise no objection.

The Tongan character which, along with a large measure of
181 kindness, was at one time also characterized by a certain brutality
178 toward human beings, (27)

27. For example, Martin, loc. cit. 1, pp.
84/85, 210; Wood, loc. cit. pp. 28, 32, 38, 48.

seems to have changed (28)

(797) 28. Doubtless especially because of the strong
missionary influence and the corresponding
government authority inspired by it.

to the extent that today brutal behavior toward fellow-humans is
regarded as revolting and almost never occurs.

181 These natives definitely give the impression of a peaceable, rural
people attached to their soil. The daring that characterized their
forefathers who, as intrepid seafarers, crossed the ocean, seems to
be lost. Yet this impression is misleading. Those Tongans who
(484) nowadays cross the vast ocean every day in their small, primitive and
(502) overloaded cutters, the men who in a storm in January 1952 salvaged
(226) an unmanned cutter driven on a reef outside Nomuka by swimming out
(648) into the surging sea, the young natives who, with their catapults,
(701) shoot fish swimming below the surface in the shark-infested sea, as
well as the large number of those who volunteered for action in the
last war (and the attitude of the 50 Tongan fighters on the Solomons)
prove that the Tongan, even under altered living conditions, has
preserved his ancient valor. The old Polynesian urge to seek and
colonize new land has, however, disappeared. Stubbornly the Tongan
(823) inhabitants remain on their presently occupied and, in part, over-
(241) populated islands; at best they /24/ will lay out a few plantings on
neighboring islands and disregard the fertile and as yet unoccupied
islands of the Archipelago. (29)

/24 cont./

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29. Even the fertile island of "Eua which is the only Tongan island with running water and lies close to Tongatapu has had an astonishingly sparse population until recent times. In part the reason is said to be the often difficult crossing between Tongatapu and "Eua because of the frequent strong surf, people shrink from such discomforts.

Gregariousness was (30)

30. For example, Cook, loc, cit p. 289.

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and still is a further outstanding trait of the Tongan. The natives of both sexes prefer working together whenever they can arrange it. In every village there are cooperative pools (kautaha) in which the women plait mats and make lengths of tapa and in which the men carry out larger plantation work. In addition they unite in single undertakings of various kinds (for example, fishing, house building), and most men form evening kawa gatherings in the village where they discuss the day's happenings, plans for the future and events of the past, sometimes until daybreak.--In sociability the Tongan comes to life, and amid talk, fun and laughter the work progresses better.

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In the course of European influence and cultural change this gregarious impulse has been considerably furthered by the fact that individual settlements united into villages, (31)

31. The village settlement in Tonga and with it the separation of place of residence and plantation goes back to the civil wars and the influence of missions. See chapter on settlement and community, p. 134 ff.

new ties in church groups arose, and the dependence of the masses on their chiefs greatly diminished.

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The old controversy as to whether the Tongan should be called lazy or industrious can be answered, on the basis of present findings, by saying that he is neither lazy nor industrious by Central European standards. On these relatively fertile islands that have no drastic

/24 cont./

181 climate seasonal changes only a minimal amount of work, in our sense,
461 is required for an adequate livelihood. However, since the Tongan
generally does not make his life quite as simple for himself as it
might be, his average actual work activity being greater than environ-
mental conditions and other factors require, we are obliged to
[512] call him relatively hardworking. The Tongan family usually begins
its work day at half past five or six o'clock (at times also at four
or five o'clock), since the men like to take advantage of the cool
early hours to work on the plantations. (32)

32. On the occasion of the week-long house
construction on Nomuka (November/December
1951) the work lasted from daybreak
until dark; however, the working natives
took turns "recovering" during various
long breaks.

Generally speaking /25/ the Tongan does not like to leave a piece of
work that he has begun and that can be finished on the same day to
be finished on the following day. On Nomuka, for example, some of
the Tongans worked long after dark on the plantations making copra
by a dim light because, once the coconuts had been gathered, they
preferred not to leave them untreated until the next day. (33)

33. This was not demanded by the technical
process of the work.

[287] In making tapa (koka-'anga) it is the ambition of the Tongan women
to finish a job they have begun on the same day; even if they are
quite weary after often ten hours of work, they do not lay aside
the almost finished piece but force themselves to work an hour or two
longer until they are finished. The Tongans' pleasure in their work
can increase to a considerable expenditure of energy, even by European
standards, if it is in their own particular interest. For example, on
the 11th/12th December 1951 a group of 15 Tongan (three skilled
workers, the rest untrained) built, from material that had been

/25 cont./

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461 supplied, a large copra shed on Nomuka; in the morning at eleven o'clock they began digging the holes for the concrete piles and at 6:45 the following day the shed was finished (25 concrete piles, a wooden floor, beams, plank walls, corrugated iron roof). The incentive for this work was the wish to sell copra on their own island and to spare themselves the long sea journey to Pangai or Nuku'alofa.

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[554] Therein also lies the qualification for the label "industrious" as applied to the Tongan: it must always be in his own interest that he devotes himself to his work (this interest can easily include love or respect for another person). For example, he will cultivate a field properly, often putting a great deal of loving work into it in order to have a good yield which will feed himself and his family and will also help him gain recognition and respect in his village community--for example, through the size of his tubers. (34)

34. Thus it may also happen that a Tongan expends a great deal of energy to lay out a decidedly neat and exact model planting (on Lifuka, for example, a few Tongans left their village of Pangai and live on their plantation in order to give it the greatest possible amount of time and work) because he can be proud of it and sets himself apart from his fellow villagers.

However, there is scarcely a Tongan who will work "for the sake of the work itself" (that is, driven to work by a non-practical impulse or a restless desire): nothing seems so alien and grim to him as the idea of "duty." In the government offices the white co-workers of the Tongan ministries complain that many tasks which a native employee started with great interest and energy is simply abandoned as /26/ soon as the initial fascination of the new task has worn off; many Europeans there will compare this Tongan way of working with the way a child plays. (35)

181 /26 cont./
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35. Psychological studies of work, however, show that similar tendencies also exist in Central Europe and are mostly suppressed as a result of differing circumstances.

There are, of course, some natives who cannot be called industrious even according to Tongan ideas, but must be regarded as lazy. They spend their days sleeping or chatting and they live more or less poorly from their overgrown, seldom visited plantings or on the supplies of their neighbors, friends or the rest of the villagers. Yet such types are not in the majority; they are felt to be exceptions in the community.

181 Since the Tongans even in the past were described by various
461 observers partly as industrious, (36)
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36. For example, Forster in: Geschichte... /History/. loc. cit. IV. p. 359, V. p. 152.

partly as inactive and lazy (37)

- 113 37. For example, Annales.../Annals/ loc. cit. XVIII. p. 423; W. Waldegrave, "Extracts from a private journal" /cited in English/ in: The Journal of the Royal Geographic Society of London. vol. III. London 1834. p. 194.

we may conclude that the attitude of these natives has not changed fundamentally, especially since decades of influence by missions and the government were unable to instill in them much of a "sense of duty." (38)

38. Typical for the lack of European "work discipline" of which the Tongan himself is often aware and which is based more on lack of ability than a lack of good will is the case of the quite capable Tongan physician A. When he was offered the management of the hospital in Nuku'alofa in the wake of the gradual replacement of European government workers with properly

/26 cont./

181 trained Tongans, he pointed out that he was
461 not capable of developing the enterprise
177 further through independent, sober, regular
178 work like a European, that a decline would
have to be reckoned with and that he would
request that a European be retained for
this position.

181 However, there has been a change insofar as a new type of work involving
461 all kinds of effort, namely copra production, has spread in Tonga to the
245 smallest inhabited island, and along with it has come the thinking in
178 terms of money which has given a certain impetus to increased work in
order that the desired goods could be bought and the customary, often
large church contributions, as well as the taxes could be paid. How-
ever, the copra work has not been a strong enough influence to upset
the Tongan rhythm of life and work. This fact must, in the first
place, be traced back to the imperturbable, stoic nature of the Tongans.
(39)

39. Even today many coconuts on the Tongan
plantations rot because the owners
do not happen to "feel like" gathering
them.

Secondly, the number of coconut palms on every plantation is naturally
limited, so that the respective copra production cannot exceed a
certain optimum (which is, however, almost never reached). Furthermore,
as has been mentioned, the actual, natural needs of these islanders are
small.

181 /27/ A few Tongans working for Europeans have, however, become ac-
461 customed to a different pace of work which is marked by certain haste
177 and restlessness. (40)

40. For example, the author noticed one Tongan
who for some time drove a bulldozer for the
Americans on the Tongatapu airport; another
who, as house painter (partly for piece-work
wages) and auto mechanic, earns a considerable
amount and, with an old truck, established an
"independent trucking business."

/27 cont./

181 In general, the Tongans have kept the cleanliness and love of
515 order characteristic of the Polynesians. The huts inside usually
[356] look quite tidy and clean, and in personal grooming people are
fairly conscientious. This has increased to a certain extent through
teaching of hygiene in all schools, so that one scarcely meets a Tongan
with long, black-bordered fingernails or toenails. However, on the
181 Tongan plantations orderliness often leaves much to be desired and the
351 neatly plaited fences praised by earlier observers (41)
178

- [113] 41. For example, J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 163;
G. Forster, loc. cit. IV, p. 323/324;
J. Wilson, A missionary voyage to the
southern Pacific Ocean/cited in English/.
London 1799. pp. 102, 245; Ch. Wilkes,
loc. cit. p. 13.

are today to be found neither on the plantation (where at most a single
barbed wire constitutes the fence) nor in the villages. (42)

42. Only a few villages have a (usually
uncared-for) stockade-style fence
(coconut palm trunks) to set off
plantings.

[247] In the latter there is also not always painstaking order and cleanli-
ness, and one seldom comes across a property owner who has planted
flowers and ornamental bushes for beauty. (43)

- [113] 43. Compare with this G. Forster, loc. cit.
pp. 325, 340; J. Cook, Voyage dans l'Hemisphere
Austral /Voyage in the southern hemisphere/
vol. II. Paris 1778. p. 68.

181 Most of the wooden houses in need or repair are so neglected that they
351 are practically falling apart. The untidiness of many plantations is
177 usually due to the often rather long approach to them required by
461 their owners and the proliferating weeds resulting from climate con-
[356] ditions, whereas the lack of orderliness in the villages may be
regarded as a direct result of European influences which also brought

181 /27 cont./

351 about the deterioration of various Tongan crafts (that is, caused
177 them to die out or become crude), the natives either having lost
461 interest entirely in the necessary work, or having adopted more
convenient, in their eyes "more attractive," substitutes or means
of production, often without acquiring a genuine understanding of
the new /process/. (44)

44. In this connection see the origin and
present aspect of the villages (p. 134 ff.)
and the "modern" house types (p. 187 ff.).

181 The Tongan can still be regarded as undependable, insofar as he
805 often fails to keep promises or appointments made both with his /28/
822 own people as well as whites, without ever feeling as having committed
177 a discourtesy or even an injustice. The long European influence has
also not been able, save for a few exceptions, to accustom the Tongan
to the concept of time. In making appointments he frequently mixes
up today and tomorrow, and especially, with the time of day and the
hour, he is rather casual, even if he owns a watch. In Tonga where
one lives far from the world's hustle and bustle, European dependabil-
ity and punctuality, without which we can no longer manage in the
complicated life of our large cities, are, of course, unnecessary.

(577) Not arriving on time, not keeping a promise won't matter much on the
islands, and such a "lapse" is not held against anyone by the Tongans.

181 This is simply natural in the Tongan way of life. However, in one
805 area the natives have become accustomed to a punctuality that can
794 almost be called exactness, namely /the attendance at/ religious
177 services. With old and new clocks they endeavor to keep to the time
(202) announced on individual radios or received from other islands in their
group; promptly at the beginning of the frequent services (that is,
on the dot if possible) the big drum is beaten or the bell rung and
without delay they proceed to church where, usually next to the
pulpit or the preacher's table, there is a pendulum clock or an alarm

181 /28 cont./
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[202]

clock, so that the duration of the service will not exceed or fall short of the prescribed length. (45)

45. On Nomuka, for example, the shrill ringing of the alarm clock often breaks into the final hymn.

All faiths in Tonga, especially the recently become independent Tongan churches, practice such punctuality, even though on most islands it has been many years since a white person has influenced the course of church life. This type of exactness is part of the Tongan religious feeling. The fact that this punctuality in church worship, practiced for decades, has not encroached on daily life proves this.

In general, the Tongan shows a piety which is undoubtedly not inferior to that of his forefathers in pagan times, (46)

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46. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 120/121, 135, also I. p. 108.

which probably increased during the change brought about by the influence of missions, and perhaps became even more profound because the new religion, Christianity, promised immortality even to commoners. (47)

47. A more specific description of changes in the religious area in the chapter on "Religion" pp. 369 ff.

181 The majority of Tongans are today definitely churchminded. However,
791 as in pre-Christian times, (48)

48. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 159, 389.

there are definitely cases of skepticism /29/ about divine omnipotence, augmented to the point of open criticism or emphatic disbelief. (49)

49. Non-churchgoers, opposition to ecclesiastical moral code, atheism.

181 The Tongans have always been excellent speakers. Even for a
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/29 cont./

181 European it is a particular pleasure to listen to the well-formulated
 537 speech of an older--or even younger--native often delivered with
 brilliant rhetoric. The ability to speak freely and with self-
 [212] assurance which is characteristic of most of these islanders is im-
 pressive, and it has not been lost in spite of the almost universal
 knowledge of reading and writing. Through the "liberation" of the
 181 commoners who were able to move up to more important positions in-
 565 volving the need to make speeches ("town officer," /cited in English/
 178 "district officer," /cited in English/ preacher, lay preacher, teacher,
 179 host and guests at festivities), the circle of speakers has been
 537 considerably enlarged resulting in having the European influence
 contribute indirectly to the furthering of this rather general gift.

181 These natives were and are quite intelligent. With their
 153 intellectual gifts they outdo some of the other South Sea peoples,
 which is evidenced, for example, by numerous examinations in the
 Central Medical School /cited in English/ in Fiji where some of the
 native intelligentsia of the British South Sea colonies is concentrated
 and where Tongans were frequently able to attain first place. The
 superior intelligence of this people has been shown in the past and at
 present by their great interest in learning and their special ability
 to take on something new. Interested in virtually everything strange
 181 and new, regarding European knowledge as the key to recognition and
 153 rank among their compatriots, almost all Tonga strive to absorb
 185 everything that can be learned, and even on the smallest islands the
 goal youngsters strive for is to be allowed, after their village
 school, to attend a college on Tongatapu, whereas parents, often
 through certain privations, take pride in helping their children
 receive this education. (50)

50. The "liberation" of the commoners

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181 /29 cont./
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undoubtedly increased ambition, the thirst for knowledge, and eagerness to learn in Tonga; see also the chapter "Knowledge" p. 413 ff.

Just as the Tongan in the past was willing to take over from the Fiji, for example, essential elements of the art of war, (51)

51. J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 72/73

boat building, (52)

52. Idem., loc. cit. II. p. 275.

the treatment of wounds, (53)

53. Idem., loc. cit. II. p. 242.

and the language, (54)

54. W.C. McKern, "Archaeology of Tonga"
/cited in English/, B.P.B.M. Bulletin 60.
Honolulu 1929. p. 122.

from the Samoans, for example, dances (55)

55. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 330/331.

and songs, (56)

56. Idem., loc. cit. II. p. 333.

so he proved himself very skillful, in the course of his contact with the European culture, /30/ in learning and copying in the various areas of everyday life. (57)

[285]

57. Often one notes a positive desire and joy in copying; for example, in April 1952 on Lifuka the author met a Tongan road worker in the bush who had plaited hats from halved young palm leaves in the shape of European sun helmets (helemeti) and policemen's caps (tata fakapolisi).

[153]

These islanders are not only quite skillful (58)

58. That is, the majority, not all of them. Just as among other peoples there are practical and impractical types, here too there are impractical natives to be met in their own Tongan life, alongside the aston-

/30 cont./

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ishingly large number of practical Tongans; for example, on Nomuka there was a Tongan living in the bush on his plantation who was incapable of climbing a coconut palm, while another native of this island, in using an outrigger, was simply unable to keep on a straight course.

in handling gasoline lamps, sewing machines, (59)

[294]

59. In November 1951 a Tongan woman using a hand sewing machine copied a German style shirt belonging to the author to fit her husband, after she had briefly seen it while laundering it.

bicycles and trucks, they have not only great independence in applying European building methods (60)

[346]

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60. For example, in 1946, the finished Catholic church in Fungamisi (Vava'u) of concrete construction with a steeple 16 meters high was designed and built solely by Tongans; in Pangai/Lifuka in 1950 a Tongan built a well functioning baker's oven under primitive conditions, after he had seen one like it in Nuku'alofa.

usually without systematic learning (often just by watching), but they also carry on with church work, the school system and public health service on most islands, independently, without direct European help, and a number of Tongans even founded two Tongan Wesleyan churches in order to be free of dependence on Europeans in this sphere. (61)

61. See chapter "Religion" p. 369 f.

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However, his considerable intelligence does not help the Tongan toward a proper feeling for, or an actual understanding of, the European world. The Archipelago is isolated and too distant from the large countries of the world, and the European influences that reach the small islands are essentially only of ecclesiastical and material

/30 cont./

181 nature (money, tools, clothing, food), besides the limited trans-
 177 mission of knowledge by Tongans in the village schools (partly by
 white persons in the colleges) and the not fully efficient health
 [538] service. The only literature published in the Tongan language is
 [207] purely ecclesiastical, and there is no Tongan radio service. The
 modern European world which, with its characteristics, its wants and
 objectives, is somewhat complicated, open and not amenable to simple
 answers even for Europeans, must always remain to a certain extent
 alien and unintelligible to the Tongan, not only because his dis-
 position is, in part, of an entirely different nature, but also
 because he is offered only disconnected, isolated parts [of the whole
 picture]. The latter probably give most Tongans the idea that
 [829] "European" means first and foremost: /31/ being clean, well-to-do,
 knowing a lot and being able to do a lot. This is the ideal the
 [183] islanders more or less consciously strive for; however, they do not
 do so uncritically, for by their conduct and by their words, for
 example, they emphasize, at least on the small islands, that they
 are proud of not being as attached to money as are the white people.

157 Besides the mass of Tongans to whom the character traits
 156 described in the preceding section apply, there is also a minority
 177 of extreme, highly Europeanized types, a few of whom may probably
 be best explained by the following examples:

1. Tongan T., 41 years old, the son of a chief on Tongatapu.
 College education there; visit to Fiji; military training in New
 Zealand. Regarded as matapule. (62)

[565] 62. The matapule are members of a once
 highly privileged noble class; in the
 narrower sense, attendants to a titled
 chief in special ceremonial services.

Was occupied at the Tonga court, among other things as chauffeur.
 Took a "vacation" and has been living on Nomuka for several months.

/33 cont./

156 organized a small group of Tongans who raise pigs and sell them, and
157 with the proceeds make it possible for young Nomukans to attend
177 college on Tongatapu; he himself makes certain financial sacrifices
to help the Tongans studying in New Zealand. To our way of thinking
he may be regarded as an idealist. To the observer, M. seems a
representative of the good young Tongan intelligentsia. If Tonga be-
came more European this type, though encumbered, could have an ageable
influence on the development of the small kingdom.

It is difficult to say whether such extreme types will some day
become general types, whether such a fundamental change of Tongan
nature will slowly be brought about. It also depends largely on
further general development of Tonga; for example, to what extent
the government's plans for an intensive Europeanization are realized
(for example, light industry [such as fish canning factories] for the
overpopulated Ha'apai group).

181 /34/ From the foregoing it will be seen that the character of the
177 Tongan today is quite similar to that of his forefathers (except for
178 the extreme types), even though it has undergone certain limited
changes in the course of European influence. This native has re-
mained essentially unchanged because European influence on the islands
has not been strong enough to be able to undermine the Tongan's
nature, his basic disposition so firmly rooted in him, the chief
characteristic of which is a self-assured equanimity which can scarcely
be shaken.

177 And this characteristic will probably also limit the future
development in Tonga, and be a safeguard against a precipitous, in-
tensive Europeanization. For, until now, almost every European style
action of an official nature undertaken in Tonga has been slowed down,
impeded or revoked.

/68 cont./

592 Despite the dark side which Tongan marriage has for the strict
181 Western observer, the family life of these natives may be regarded
as happy, particularly since basic ideas are freer and the Tongans
with their mentality take things easier than they appear to whites.

592 As in old times, (198)

462 198. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300.

the husband bears the chief burden of work (planting, fishing,
house and boat building), while the wife cares for the house and
the children, plait mats and makes tapa. (199)

199. More details at "Division of Labor,"
p. 336 ff.

593 As ever, the wife enjoys special respect. In most houses a quiet,
harmonious atmosphere predominates, both between the spouses as well
as between parents and children. Often one sees fathers holding their
children lovingly on their laps, and mothers take conscientious, often
tender care of their children for granted. This family life
(198) corresponds very much to that in old Tonga, according to the descrip-
tion given by Mariner. (200).

200. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 179.

593 Many parents do not beat their children, but are content with
861 admonishing words. Some, however, give severe punishment with the
Tonga broom (tau fale) /used/ as a switch (or with a stick, leather
strap, etc.). /69/ Child obedience is moderate to good. In general,
(867) however, children are handy, and when still of young age they perform
tasks helping their parents and growing into the parents' roles.

593 An ancient taboo forbade children to touch their father's head,
784 to partake of his food and drink and to use articles belonging to him.
(198) This taboo is today largely relaxed, for children will, for example,
often eat food remnants of their father or drink up what is left in
his coconut cup. Many use their father's comb, and some even touch

/95 cont./

476 for a person may ask one or more fellow-villagers (aside from relatives) to help with difficult undertakings on the plantations, in house building or boat building. In general, everyone complies with such a request, and the work is not paid, but usually acknowledged only with a good earth-oven meal. Here too community feeling is stronger than European influences. Thus, in December 1951 on Nomuka, many Tongans of the "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga" /cited in English/ helped their fellow villagers of the "apostate" "Church of Tonga" to make cement tiles for a new church building; even the pastor of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga took part in this work, and the brass bands of his church provided music for the construction work of the "apostates."

186 The far-flung kinship of the villagers among each other on many islands is an important, though by no means the sole, cause of this solidarity. It is rooted above all in the particular Tongan character traits of good nature and gregariousness, and is strengthened and cultivated by tradition. Even the Tongan traders with their small shops which, as a result of their European-like way of doing business, could be a foreign body in the community, sometimes yield to old customs. Thus it often happened on Nomuka, for instance, that a merchant who had run out of certain articles asked his competitor for them and successfully sold them.

476 The more casual joining together of several villagers in a work project for one of them often takes on a more permanent form by becoming a sort of cooperative organization for mutual aid. For instance, five men may agree to found such a work group, a kautaha, in order to cultivate their plantations. On the first day, all five will work for number one on his land, then for number two, and so on. During this rotation no further member is taken on; however, for the next round they are often willing to increase the number of participants.

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minister of finance, as well as, in a certain sense, to the secretary sent by the British government to the premier.

Yet they are the ones who, in the final analysis keep the entire government machinery running. (315)

315. In November 1951 the following positions in the Tongan government (administration) were occupied by whites: secretary to the government (English), police superintendent (English), minister of finance (New Zealander), assistant treasurer (New Zealander), government auditor (New Zealander), assistant auditor (New Zealander), accounting officer (English), relieving officer (New Zealander), deputy commissioner of island revenue (Dutchman), chief medical officer (Canadian), nurse (English woman), agricultural officer (director) (Dutchman), farm manager (Australian), chief postmaster (New Zealander), superintendent of telephone and telegraph (New Zealander), /114/ assistant superintendent of telephone and telegraph (New Zealander), building inspector (New Zealander), clerk of the building inspector (German), government storekeeper (New Zealander), electric power board (two New Zealanders), garage and mechanical repair shops for government vehicles (New Zealander), medical adviser (Vava'u), (English) /titles of all positions cited in English/.

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/114/ The Tongans are very much interested in everything new, and some of it they gladly accept. Thus they also work quite willingly in the government. However, they often find it difficult to carry through, consistently to the end, work they have begun but that soon seems uninteresting to them. Before finishing the old work they, start something new. Moreover, the natives have but slight regard for paper with writing on it, that is to say, for documents, which they often lose, mislay or burn. Their European colleagues fight what sometimes seems like a losing battle against this easy going attitude, as well

/114 cont./

648 as against the usually very slow work tempo. Besides, the authoritative
177 Tongan ministers do not always have the necessary specialized know-
563 ledge for their departments, or they find it difficult properly
645 to evaluate the problems and possibilities of their solutions.
647 Nonetheless, the Tonga state, as a result of the work of Europeans,
181 is today free from debts and has even invested rather large sums (316)
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652 316. In 1950 these amounted to 424,808.4.10
454 (Report of the Honourable the Minister for
the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa
1951. p. 2).

648 in Britain. The frequent change in white employees in various
177 government positions is unfavorable, especially since their successors
563 often continue the work in question according to their personal point
647 of view, hence no lasting system is adhered to. Indeed, European
critics of the government are of the opinion that the Tongan
government has up to now lacked the necessary planning ability for
a unified and advantageous development.

Some of the whites working in the government (317)

317. For example, the postmaster of Neiafu
(Vava'u) and the physician on Lifuka.

were in recent years replaced by Tongans with corresponding training.
However, this occurred rather because of a scarcity of whites in the
Archipelago (318)

318. During the Second World War the number of
whites (men, women and children) decreased
in Tonga (on account of the danger of invasion
and because of the depression) from around 400 to
around 200 (see Pacific Islands Yearbook 1950
/cited in English/. p. 109) and has since then
hardly increased.

or because of their relatively low pay by the government. There is
a great dearth of well trained native personnel, and it seems that it
will be a long time before a Tongan can take over, say, the position
of minister of finance.

/182 cont./ As in all

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areas of daily life, the commoners here too enjoy greater freedom than they did in the past. Fishing has largely remained a secondary occupation (secondary to farming),, though there are some ardent fishermen among the natives, a few of whom (478)

478. See "the landless ones," p. 178.

pursue it as their main occupation. However, there has never been a definite specialization or systematization. /183/ One does not meet any Tongans who carry on fishing as a regular business; rather, the natives go about it in their traditional casual-calm way. (479)

479. Although, in the Ha'apai group where fish are plentiful, one can easily fish "from one's front door," as it were, the natives do not by any means make regular use of this possibility. Nor is it rare for natives to return from fishing on the high seas without fish because they have already consumed them on the way.

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The strange situation that the Tonga Islands, some of whose waters have a great abundance of fish, today import rather large quantities of canned fish, (480)

480. In 1951, for example, 15,912 T. (C.Z.F.)-worth from South Africa, Great Britain, Norway, New Zealand and Australia.

may be explained by the fact that the Tongans are fond of fish prepared in the European way; largely to blame for this development, however, are the commercial interests of Europeans, the present "wealth" of the natives as a result of their copra production, as well as the laziness of the Tongans.

d) Food and Luxuries

Food

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The ancient plants cultivated in Tonga (yams, kape, sweet potatoes, taro, bananas), together with various ancient indigenous tree fruits (especially coconuts and bread fruit) and fish (and mussels, octopus,

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462 making or helps with tapa-making.

462 The principle of the present customary division of labor
178 between the sexes corresponds to that of the past. For example, Cook
(584)

584. J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. pp. 282/283.
as well as Mariner (585)

585. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 132, 301; see
also E.P.E. de Rossel, Voyage de Dentrecaesteaux...
I. p. 310.

462 reported that Tongan men at that time did all the heavy work, while
177 the lighter tasks were the responsibility of their wives. The new
tasks that arose as a result of European influence (copra-making,
cooking, washing, sewing) were also shared by the two sexes in
accordance with this principle. (586)

586. If the situation demands it, however, the
women are perfectly willing to do heavy work;
for example, one sometimes sees women and girls
splitting ripe coconuts with the axe (for making
copra), if the male members of the family, for
some reason, are prevented from doing this.

461 The "division of labor" between nobles and commoners, (587)

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565 587. On the occupational division of labor see the
chapter "Vocations and Trades" p. 357 ff.

178 which was so much taken for granted in ancient Tonga and, according to
which, commoners were obliged to work for nobles who supervised
and guided them, was fundamentally changed through the Christianization
and democratization of the Archipelago: The commoners today generally
work for themselves, for their family alone; some chiefs work their
plantation none, others work together with several commoners, and a
few let the latter work for them on a voluntary basis and for
remuneration (food, kava, money), while they spend their days at leisure.

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181 The daily routine of the Tongans is still characterized by the

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[181] tranquility and equanimity of these human beings who, with a measure of regularity, go about their customary tasks, duties and forms of relaxation.

/226/ They usually get up quite early in the morning (between five and six o'clock) and often start the day with a short prayer. While the wife busies herself preparing the morning meal and the children help her or finish their schoolwork, the husband usually (after feeding his pigs) goes to his plantation (588)

588. Sometimes he also goes fishing.

[264] in order to take advantage of the pleasant morning coolness. The family has its first meal some time between nine and eleven o'clock, in which the husband of course takes part if by that time he has returned from his plantation (where he would also be able to prepare a meal for himself). The wife spends the morning "taking care of the house" (she spreads out the sleeping-mats and -tapa in the sun in front of the house, cleans and sweeps the interior and straightens out and rolls up the bedding), and, besides attending to the small children (the older children are at school), she might busy herself with the plaiting of a mat that may have been started a long time before; she might also go to the beach on the surf side of the island in order to look for algae, polyps, mussels or crabs. In case the husband has not remained on his plantation he will probably attend to his copra-making or his fishing. While some families in the larger towns will have another meal around noon, according to the European example, most of the natives on the smaller islands simply take a longer rest which lasts until the worst heat is over (about 15 o'clock). Then the villages wake up to new life. The men visit the plantations or they now go fishing or take up their planned copra work with which the women sometimes help; otherwise, the women continue with their plaitwork or now

/228 cont./

512 choir practice; school work.

177 and Christianization has brought the idea of the "week" and of Sunday.

178 Yet, aside from this day of rest, the rhythm of the daily activity
[527] seems to have remained the same: the Tongan functions with matter-
[181] of-fact equanimity, and the abundance of new duties and tasks has not
been able to decrease, much less destroy, his inner calm.

F. Transportation (Land and Sea)

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In examining the development of Tongan transportation we must naturally make a distinction between land traffic (on the islands) and sea traffic (within the Archipelago as well as between other islands and countries of the Pacific).

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481 With regard to travel by land, it may be said that the majority
177 of natives still travel on foot. They often walk hour-long /229/
distances--transporting burdens at the same time--(596)

596. See pp. 249-251.

on the small islands as well as the large ones, though on the latter, in order to cover great distances, they make increasing use of means of transportation that have come to the Archipelago as a result of European influence.

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The horse (597)

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597. See p. 256-258.

that was introduced by Europeans has become very important for many natives (of the large as well as the small islands) as a riding- and pack-animal.

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As a draft animal it is used to draw the two-wheeled carts (598)

598. See p. 256-258.

which have proved very useful on the streets, roads and paths of the islands (even in the bush) and are also European imports; in ancient

000 Tonga the principle of the wheel was unknown. These wagons are not

505 /231 cont./ The Tongans (609)
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609. That is to say, the crews of these boats, who devote themselves primarily to sea-faring and often have little to do with the boat's construction.

are still very capable seamen. Even though they no longer have the old, admirable ability to take their bearings from the stars, the wind and the waves, but use the compass on all sailboats, they are still endowed with a sure, instinctive feeling for finding their way on the sea, since their old compasses, which are scarcely ever adjusted /232/ often have such variations that their usefulness is questionable. No Tongan on these boats owns a sextant or a log to determine position and distances covered, and sea charts are rare. Nonetheless, the boats daily operating within the Archipelago reach their destination, and it seldom happens that such a sailboat is driven off course or is lost.

505 Here follows a report on a typical journey of this sort within
502 the Archipelago:
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On December 2, 1951 the sailboat "Leiola" coming from the island of Mango arrives in Nomuka where seven passengers with their luggage go on board. The "Leiola" leaves Nomuka around 17 o'clock and shortly thereafter drops anchor at Nomuka Iki where freight for Crown Prince Tungi is taken on board: a quantity of kape and taro, a pig, a goat and ten bags of copra. With this load, along with the seven passengers and the five-man crew the approximately nine-ton boat is so overloaded that it has scarcely two handspans of freeboard. It sets out for Tongatapu which is about 60 sea miles distant. During the first hour, hymns are sung and a prayer is said. In the foreship, as on most of these boats, there stands an old drum serving as stove where bananas and taro are cooked. With this meal drinking water is handed out from a can specially carried for this purpose. Then the

/239 cont./

463 (or wages); the congregations pay their clergymen; and workmen are
465 paid in money for their services, by nobles as well as commoners
178 (or else their work is acknowledged with good food); in business,
finally, /240/ Tongan employees are also paid, while the independent
merchants earn money through sale activity.

463 Vocational specialization, however, is only a complementary
force in the general economic life. It is far from dividing up the
population into various professional groups. Almost all Tongans still
master the tasks needed for life on the islands. (639)

639. That is to say, agriculture, fishing, simple
house-building and boat-building, domestic
animal raising and copra production; the
women today also generally know how to sew
articles of clothing.

441 Businesses were unknown in ancient Tonga, if one means by business
178 an independent activity continuously practiced with a view to
economic gain.

Today there is business activity, in this sense in the Archipelago,
but relatively few natives engage in it. In general, the Tongans
[181] lack a sense of acquisition. For instance, when white visitors arrive
439 with the monthly steamer in the ports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu,
the natives, even in these "urbanized" settlements, do not offer to
sell them handwork (baskets, mats, fans, tapa, etc.), (640)

640. A recent exception are two natives who make
tortoise-shell jewelry (rings, bracelets with
silver inlay) specifically for this purpose
(as handicraft).

and Europeans often have the greatest difficulty in getting a
coveted "souvenir"; /cited in English/ usually they depart without
such handicraft. (641)

641. Conditions on Niue Island (about 300 sea miles
east of the Tonga Archipelago) are just the
opposite.

000 /240 cont./

opposite.

464 Nor do the Tongans like to hire themselves out for money--neither
465 to whites nor to their own people. There may be several reasons for
436 this attitude: First of all, these natives have considerably pride;
181 besides, the use of money in many areas of life is not in the Tongan
tradition; (642)

642. See the request for things without quid pro
quo (pp. 136-137) and the acknowledgement of work
with good meals (pp. 137-139).

and finally, though money is quite useful to the natives of all the
islands of the Archipelago (for going shopping at the stores), it is
not all that vitally necessary, since they can themselves obtain
everything that is absolutely essential for existence (except clothing)
from the soil and the sea.

43 Thus today only a few Tongans who have a rather un-Tongan
181 enterprising spirit carry on a trade in the sense described above.
178

472 For example, in 1951/52 the native L., about 25 years old,
(who gained experience in Nuku'alfa as an auto mechanic, and also worked
there as a carpenter and house painter and had visited Fiji and Samoa)
buys himself an old broken down truck, on Tongatapu, for 90 T.
and spare parts for about 200 T. He repairs the truck himself and
has it transported to Lifuka on the auxiliary ketch "Aoni'u," where
he then drives it daily /241/ for hire by the islanders (especially
472 transporting copra and other freight, not so much passengers). In
477 order to "break into the business" and probably also because of
genuine willingness to be helpful, L. charges 20 to 30 percent less
(134) for his trips than his "competitors." He takes in 6 to 7 T. a day
and will pay off the cost of the purchase of his vehicle in about
three months.

472 St., who is about 20 years old, and says he has an English

/241 cont./

472 these available for transporting persons and freight to make money.
[463] Finally, workmen of the chief towns (bakers, tailors, hair-cutters) also belong to those engaged in business, while most of the carpenters and blacksmiths in the villages of the small islands do not yet show a purely acquisitive sense.

472 Thus a trade engaged in on the principle of permanent monetary gain
177 has arisen in Tonga only as a result of European influence, and a few
181 natives can today be called "tradesmen" in this sense. Only pressure for moneymaking resulting from overpopulation as well as a considerable increase of /242/ European influence will probably arouse economic acquisitiveness among the majority of Tongans and will be able to overcome the feelings and values of these natives /incompatible with such activity/.

H. Money in the Life of the Tongans

436 Money is something utterly new in Tonga. In the past the chiefs,
425 in accordance with their authority, obtained freely everything they
565 wished from commoners without compensation, (643)

643. Particularly esteemed workers, however, were repaid with gifts.

and the commoners among themselves probably acted according to the still current system of "anticipated reciprocity." (644)

644. Namely, request for something without direct return service (see pp. 136-137).

This arrangement was taken for granted by all Tongans.

436 Today money plays an important role in the economic life of
[177] these people. Tongan currency, modeled on the British pattern, works with pounds, shillings and pence. The value of a Tongan pound (£T) corresponds to an Australian pound. The bank notes issued by the Kingdom of Tonga are made out in the amount of 5£T., 1£T., 10 shillings and 4 shillings. In addition, there are Australian

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178 give it back, the creditor will not be much concerned and will regard the matter as settled, in accordance with the old Tongan custom.

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[431] There is no doubt that the natives have learned to value money and like it, but even the present high copra prices have not led to a "copra intoxication" and /244/ a "money fever." They often give away whole loads of coconuts, and in the Copra Board in Neiafu, for example, it was observed in 1952 that the Tongans who could not be paid the full copra price as a result of a temporary shortage of pence coins, did not come back even after several weeks to pick up their three-or ten-pence.

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436 For most of the natives the idea of saving, in the sense of a continuous accumulation of sums of money, is unfamiliar. About four decades ago many families were said to have saved relatively large sums in order to build. At that time several of the European-type frame houses were erected. Today large objects such as dwellings, cement tanks and carts have often been inherited, and money is spent on clothing and food and other European goods. Given the normal demand, the to some extent, artificially produced demand by the shopkeeper's promotion, and the relatively high prices, money is soon spent in a large family.

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472 Though the majority of Tongans do not use money purposefully (in the European sense), there is nevertheless no dearth of examples of deliberate management of money after the manner of whites. Thus, for example, F.S., a Tongan shopkeeper on Nomuka, through carefully considered management, within nine months (1951/52), increased his capital from 61£ T. to about 800£ T. and the two aforementioned truck drivers as well as the lemonade seller on Lifuka (648)

648. See pp. 361-364.

[181] may also serve as example of a wise use of money. These natives,

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454 however, represent a very small minority with an "un-Tongan business
436 sense."--It is quite interesting that a larger group of Tongans, such
492 as probably exists from what has just been said, seems to have taken
181 over the European habit of money-saving, for at the end of 1951 the
177 Government Savings Bank /cited in English/ reported 6134 savings
652 accounts with deposits of 181,611 T. (649)
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649. Colonial Office. Report on Tonga for the
Years 1950 and 1951. p. 11.

However, it is more a matter of "safe-keeping of sums of money for
a limited time: than a "continuous accumulation of deposits," for in
the same year the withdrawals exceeded the deposits.

452 There is no real indebtedness among the Tongans, for shopkeepers
426 throughout the Archipelago today sell mostly for cash. Only a few
Tongan grocers on the smaller islands sell goods on credit. But they
671 demand of those countrymen, who /245/ seem to them unreliable,
securities (for example, valuable mats); it also happens that natives
pawn coconut harvests and other plantation products, though this is
forbidden by law.

436 Money has had a certain negative influence on the social life of
177 the Tongans inasmuch as some natives have gone over to selling food
178 and other things to their countrymen, which were formerly, as a matter
182 of principle, given them without direct quid pro quo. Some
425 Tongans even take advantage of the old traditional system of
"anticipated reciprocity" by asking their neighbors for something
and receiving this "for nothing," according to the old custom, while
they themselves fulfill similar wishes only against payment in money.
Another case is that of S.M. on Nomuka who immediately pays for
everything he requests and receives from his neighbors, in order to
avoid the obligation of having to give something himself, the next
time, without being repaid. Thus money can have an alienating effect

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436 within the community. Yet up to the present time the old feeling of
177 solidarity of the Tongans proved to be stronger, especially on the
178 small islands where those who, for instance, give plantation
182 products to their neighbors only for money are regarded as alien
elements in the village community. In and around the chief towns,
(432) however, selling of food is already taken for granted, but at the
(574) same time community feeling has not been destroyed in these settlements;
for example, every Tongan can enter here a house uninvited and take
part in a meal.

Thus money has become an important economic factor in Tonga. The
natives have become accustomed to it to a certain extent. In the
harbor towns of the Archipelago, especially, money has brought about
certain changes and has had, in part, a negative, though as yet a
limited influence on the old community life. An average Tongan,
however, does not have the attitude toward money characteristic of
a European. The reasons for this lies not only in the more even-
(181) tempered, casual manner of these natives and in the fact that thinking
in terms of money and self-interest are contrary to the Tongan
tradition, but especially in the fact that today, as in old times,
they can still live without money. Although every Tongan man and
woman, even on the smallest islands of the Archipelago, comes into
contact with money, some of these natives do not have a penny, for
they live chiefly on their land and can ask relatives or neighbors
for whatever they need from the outside world.

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4. THEIR RELIGION

771 As for the religion of the Tongans, the strongest European
177 influences (missions) are to be noted, which have led to a fundamental
797 change in this field.

772 The ancient Polynesian (and the ancient Tongan) conception of the

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177 insofar it is theoretically clear and comprehensible; for even though
178 today one can observe devotion to Christian faith, it probably
179 takes on, as everywhere in the world, countless forms in the minds
and attitudes of human beings, thus making generalizations difficult.
Yet it can be said that the Christian religion with its main doctrines
is today firmly rooted in Tonga. The natives, with their characteris-
tic Polynesian emotionalism (which often increases to sentimentalism),
(181) give themselves wholeheartedly to this religion. They believe--or
(152) think they believe; for if their old religion with its tremendous num-
ber of gods was scarcely comprehensible to the individual, the
Christian religion with its often complicated and abstract doctrines
is perhaps even more difficult for the Tongans to understand. One
may probably say: this native is a devout Christian insofar as he
understands the Christian religion. (670)

670. According to a Catholic missionary questioned
in Tonga, some Tongans are able to grasp the
core of Christian doctrines, but very many do
not understand them entirely. "We must simply try
to get as far as we possibly can..." he said.

And even here, a reservation is necessary: the Tongan today thinks and
feels like a Christian, especially during the church services and in
his prayers, while his practical /251/ actions (for example, with
regard to the observance of rules pertaining to marriage) sometimes
seem to be dictated by other motives. This discovery, however, is
probably nothing unusual, since it is more or less true not only of
Tonga, but of all countries in which Christians live.

177 The old religion has been forgotten, except for a few surviving
178 remnants that seem insignificant and are similar to European
179 superstitions. Above all, the fear of ghosts is a religious heritage
from the past. Many old people and even young ones avoid passing
(184) certain places (for example, cemeteries) in the dark. Even strong and

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871 truly beneficial only for the small group of natives who find employment
876 in the government, in the church or in trade.
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177 The transmission of European knowledge outside the schools is very
[538] slight. There is no Tongan secular literature. The natives have few
[207] radios. Newspapers and magazines only occasionally come into the hands
[204] of the Tongans. In Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu and Neiafu/Vava'u they can see
[546] films in small cinemas. The few natives working among whites (mission-
aries, teachers, physicians, administrative employees, traders), as
attentive observers, become acquainted with all kinds of European ideas.
[521] But the majority of Tongan men and women, after having attended school,
are dependent for an increase in their knowledge on face-to-face conver-
sations, especially at the evening kava circles in the villages; and in
this case actual knowledge is mixed with exaggerated tales and wild
rumors.

871 Seen as a whole, the natives of this Archipelago doubtless know
828 more than is needed for life on their small islands. /280/ This is not
177 to be traced back solely to the school system as such, but actually
181 to the lively eagerness to learn on the part of many Tongans. Their
185 pleasure in learning is above all the result of the natives' so typical
interest in everything new and worth knowing. Added to that is the
desire to share in the superior world of the whites. Moreover, since
"education" has become a measure of value within the community, the
desire for recognition of the individual strengthens the general
eagerness to learn. Ultimately this is also very much furthered by
democratization, since commoners are now able to achieve special
positions through proper training. Almost the entire population of the
Archipelago has a positive attitude toward the modern school system.
181 Most elementary pupils probably have the ambition to go on to one of
186 the very respected colleges, (759)

759. After their final examination the young natives

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185 often do not want to return home, but try to stay in college.

and their parents, who see in such an education an honor for their children, support them as much as they can by providing them with the means for this school attendance. Many of the older people regard the present time as "the golden age of education" and strive to help the young people towards an education which they themselves were unable to obtain; in some villages there have even been small groups who in a planned way (for example, by raising funds through their copra sales or the breeding and sale of pigs) collect money with which young people from the settlements are to be sent to colleges on the main island or to schools abroad. This open-mindedness of a largely farming population is amazing, and it gives one a strange feeling to find, for example, on one of the smallest islands of the Archipelago, an old man in a lonely hut on plantation land who is able to write his name and read printed matter in the Tongan language perfectly.

[212] The schooling of these natives, which is certainly too generous in view of their ordinary conditions, does not, from all appearances, have a harmful influence on their character. The young people who have gone to college and then, after a successful final examination, return to their small home island because they are unable to find an opening in any of the higher positions (especially in administration, health, education and the church), usually take up the work of their fathers as a matter of course; they become farmers, and they are generally neither arrogant because they know more than most of their fellow-villagers, nor are they discontent because they /281/ cannot apply their diverse knowledge; rather, they differ from the natives of the same age who have attended only the elementary school by a more modest and courteous conduct. These returnees, however, do not have a noticeable influence on the community.

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180 schools of five missions) is less effective than the Tongan, and mass
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122 education has not as yet been particularly successful, especially since
in West Samoa (with a majority of the population) there is no compulsory education and in all the villages of the Islands the existing schools are attended rather irregularly. Even though the so proud and conservative Samoans do not have the same ambition to become educated that the Tongans seem to have, it is nevertheless noteworthy that today almost all Samoans can read and write. In comparison with Tonga, however, only very few get beyond the elementary school level.

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177 /299/ In Samoa, as in Tonga, there is a difference in the change
178 that has taken place in the culture between the more remote villages
184 and the settlements favorably situated with regard to transport
369 facilities and the commercial centers. In these "urbanized" towns one often notices in an occasional outsider who come there a detachment from his "extended family" in addition to a slight alienation and a growing importance attached to money, and the way of life of some natives shows considerable change in clothing, food and dwelling. In the city of Apia some people, especially young natives, are at times disdainful of the ancient Samoan way of life and the customs of their fathers, and feel superior to their countrymen who come "from the most backward villages" for a visit.

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177 However, at present, such manifestations can be observed only
178 among a minority of Samoans and should be regarded as exceptions. Up to now the Samoan culture has shown itself to be at least as strong as the Tongan. It has remained sound and dominant, despite the variety of European influences. (23)

23. Even the large sums of money which came into the country as a result of the presence of American troops on the Islands and the possibility of easy acquisition during that

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177 totality, but rather with disconnected, single culture traits
and complexes, much has remained unchanged which /326/ could probably
have been altered had the Tongans had a more intimate relationship
with the life style of the whites.

177 An inhibiting effect on the pace of "Europeanization" of this
181 Archipelago was also the nature of the Tongans. They proved to
be self-assured, imperturbable, even-tempered, indifferent and
conservative toward many innovations--despite the fact that they were
also open-minded. One cannot say that they copied Europeanism
blindly; rather, they were often critical and selective. In many areas
of their culture they had no interest in, or need for, a fundamental
change, (55)

55. For example, means of subsistence (that is,
planting, animal husbandry, basic diet),
style of living, kinship and community system,
customs connected with stages of life.

and, thanks to their disposition and attitude, they did not come to
depend very much on whites, but retained their practical abilities
with which to master their environment. (56)

56. Planting, fishing, house-building, boat-building.

(53) Mentally they proved scarcely suitable as workers for larger European
enterprises.

177 Unfavorable geographical conditions likewise impeded a more
13 extensive cultural change. Fundamental, restricting factors are
the relatively isolated location of these islands and their com-
paratively small land areas which contain no enticing riches for whites.
The soil, the climate and a certain water shortage were not favorable
for various cultivated plants that were introduced; some planting
methods of Europeans are not feasible here, and a more extensive
raising of heavy livestock seems to be impossible.

177 As a result of special circumstances, moreover, European
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177 The reasons for these similar developments are largely those that were mentioned in connection with the change of Tongan culture.

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121 The question as to what extent they express some firm laws of acculturation among primitive peoples can be answered only on the basis of a large number of further, similar investigations. And even a subsequent, perhaps successful establishment of such "laws of acculturation" would always need to be subject to the qualification that a multitude of unforeseeable imponderables could lead the development in an entirely different direction than that established theoretically; for example, one can scarcely, with the help of such a "lawful principle," explain why the Tongans have largely given up their ancient house style whereas the Samoans--under quite similar conditions--have kept theirs to such a great extent.

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178 One conclusion from these comparisons that seems significant is the fact that the bearers of this culture, the human beings themselves, have thus far scarcely changed inwardly as a result of European influences. They have the money of the whites--but have not taken on the latter's interest in money; they have become Christians--but scarcely discard their old attitudes toward sex; and the fact that the four primitive peoples compared here still show a rather conservative approach coupled with a decided self-assurance in many areas of their cultural life may be one of the important reasons why these peoples and their cultures have not declined but have preserved a large measure of their old way of life throughout turbulent times.

177 The conservative trait observed among other primitive peoples, as has been emphasized elsewhere, (61)

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013) 61. R. Linton, Acculturation in seven American Indian tribes /cited in English/. New York 1940. p. 468; H. B. Hawthorn, "The Maori:

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A study in acculturation," American Anthropologist New Series. Vol. 46, No. 2. Part 2 (Memoir 64) 1944. p. 65.

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181 is probably in part simply /331/ based on rational considerations according to which greater disadvantages than advantages were to be expected from the change, or it may be partly a question of indolence or rigidity. On the whole, however, conservatism here means a feeling of steadfastness in the traditional and habitual because it is one's own to which one is rooted and to which one clings because one draws from it a goodly share of strength, inner security and self-assurance. Why do the Tongan women still subject themselves to the arduous and lengthy process of tapa-making and mat-plaiting? Why, with their relatively high income, do they not instead buy more durable European cloth which they can obtain without too much trouble? Why do they still plait their mats with great care and do not make them in a much simpler and less meticulous way? They probably do this not only because it happens to be their tradition and a taken-for-granted habit and gives them social recognition, but because they consciously or unconsciously feel that their very own way of life is bound up with these things, (62)

62. Many Tongans do not fail to point out proudly to whites who are interested in their way of life and their work what is "faka Tonga" (Tongan way of doing things).

and because they would perhaps be unsure of themselves and feel a certain void if they should break with this tradition and if the floor of their huts and their sleeping places were made only with European material with which they will probably never be able to establish a true inner relationship. Primitive peoples will guard and be able to maintain such an emotional attachment to what is old against the so powerful European influences only if their character

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is as strong as that of the Tongans. This seems to be the peculiar nature and significance of the conservatism that we have so often come across in the various chapters of this essay.

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[pp. 332-351 on the general problem of cultural change have not been translated.]